PETER: PRINCE OF APOSTLES

By F. J. Foakes-Jackson

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THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL THE MAN AND THE APOSTLE

THE RISE OF GENTILE CHRISTIANITY

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 461

BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

A BRIEF BIBLICAL HISTORY—OLD TESTAMENT

A BRIEF BIBLICAL HISTORY—NEW TESTAMENT

STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF THE EARLY CHURCH

THE STATUE OF ST. PETER IN THE CHAPEL OF S.M. DELLA BOCCIATA IN THE CRYPT OF ST. PETER'S.

PETER:
PRINCE OF APOSTLES

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY AND TRADITION OF CHRISTIANITY

BY

F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON

Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Briggs' Graduate Professor of Christian Institutions in Union Theological Seminary; Lecturer in the General Theological Seminary, New York City

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is twofold: To give the ordinary reader an interest in the first days of Christianity by an endeavour to portray the Apostle who took the lead at its inception and acted as a pioneer in its diffusion. At the same time it is hoped that it may appeal to scholars to study the problem it suggests, namely, how far tradition is to be respected where direct historical material is scanty.

St. Peter presents a very difficult problem. As to the greatness of his character, the impression he has left—not only on the New Testament, but on posterity as well—no room is left for doubt. As to the actual facts regarding him, no one can deny that they are few and indefinite. The author has been repeatedly asked whether it is possible to construct an account of the Apostle with the materials at our disposal. His answer to this question is that his chief difficulty is to compress what should be said into a small volume. If this book can provoke others to enlarge upon this great subject, he will be more than satisfied.

Several friends have contributed valuable suggestions to the author. To these, grateful acknowledgment is due. Professor F. C. Burkitt of Cambridge has given useful hints on the work of Peter in the East. The Rev. Father Clifford, lecturer in scholastic philosophy in Columbia University, New York, has kindly read several chapters, and corrected some statements which appeared to convey a wrong im-

pression. The Right Rev. Monsignor A. S. Barnes has freely placed his antiquarian knowledge at the author's disposal; and, with Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, has allowed him to make use of the pictures and plans in that most useful book *St. Peter's in Rome* (London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1900). Appendix E has been supplied by S. C. Cockerell, M. A., Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. Professor F. Gavin of the General Theological Seminary has revised the MS. and corrected the proofs; and in addition has written Chapter XX —in the author's opinion the most interesting in the entire volume.

I am greatly indebted to Sir Arthur Shipley, F. R. S., and to Mr. Borley for assistance in Appendix A, and for a valuable letter on saints honoured by the Orthodox Church from Professor Simkhovich of Columbia University, N. Y. Dr. George Kohut has given me useful information on the efforts made by the promoters of Zionists to promote the fishing industry in Palestine. The chapters on the Gospel narrative have been submitted to my friend and colleague, Dr. J. E. Frame, who has, as is his invariable custom, gone through them with a thoroughness which is deeply appreciated by me.

New York, 1927

INTRODUCTION

St. Peter and St. Paul stand forth in solitary grandeur as the leaders of the ancient Church. To us, most of the Christian apostolic leaders are but names. Peter and Paul are living men to this day. But Paul's is the easier life to write, and the attempts to do so have been innumerable. We can trace the journeys of this indefatigable missionary from one city of antiquity to another; we can be thrilled by the adventures of his varied career; we can read his letters, and feel after the interval of centuries the influence of his personality. When we come to Peter it is otherwise. Till we examine the records we imagine that we know him; but experience only makes our actual knowledge diminish. We are amazed to discover that so little real information has survived regarding the man whom Jesus chose as the leader of the Twelve Apostles, who subsequently appears as their chief in the foundation of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, and also in the earliest preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles. It must strike every student that, whereas the unanimous voice of the Church from the first acknowledges and reverences St. Peter as the founder of the Roman Church, when we search for a strictly historic proof of even his having ever visited Rome, we have to acknowledge that it is wanting. Yet to the candid historian it seems far more perverse to deny that St.

Peter was actually at Rome than positively to affirm that he was the founder of its church. All, however, that can be done is to set forth the known facts and leave it to the unbiassed judgment of the individual.

Yet difficult as the task of writing a life of Peter may be, compared with that of compiling one of Paul, it is one from which the student of Christian origins ought not to shrink. For, if St. Paul is one of the most interesting characters for a biography an historian can select, it must not be forgotten that the Church has always put first the more dimly seen figure of Peter. When the Acts of the Apostles records that the sick used to be brought into the streets that "even the shadow of Peter passing by" might overshadow some of them (Acts V: 15) it is a figure of his subsequent influence on the Christian world, the history of which for countless generations was dominated everywhere by "the shadow of Peter passing by." The personality, writings, and achievements of Paul have wrought much, and have given him substance as a figure in history; but he has not captured the imagination of mankind as fully as the mighty shadow of his great colleague. Of the religion of Christ it may be said that its outward manifestations in the world are its Church and its theology; and that the one is connected with the name of Peter, the other with that of Paul. But, if only the few in any age have understood Christian doctrine, the Church has been evident to all, and, judged by this test, Peter is of even greater importance than Paul himself.

From the very first Peter is, after Christ, the most prominent person in the story of our religion and in

the Gospels he is always represented as taking the lead among the Apostles. But the history of Peter does not end with his life: he has had a most extraordinary influence on the world to this day. Not only has he been regarded as the founder of the Roman Church—the greatest Christian body on earth—not only have the most famous Churches been erected in his honour—St. Peter's at Rome and Westminster Abbey in London—not only has he, with the Popes who claim to be his successors, been called the Vicar of Christ: he has been loved as well as honoured. With his failings and inconsistencies, coupled with his ardent and affectionate nature, he has been to many the most attractive of all the characters in the Bible.

And although little is actually known about Peter's life and acts, we yet seem to recognise in him a familiar friend, because we can understand him. Most saints seem raised too far above us to be sympathetic, but Peter, who learned to be great by the faults into which his impulsiveness led him, must be one who can comprehend the failings of ordinary men.

His whole career is romance. He comes on the scene as a fisherman in a remote corner of the world; and, if the unbroken testimony of the Church is to be trusted, he dies as a witness of his beloved Master in Rome. Soon after his martyrdom the Christians connected his name with that of Paul in the foundation of their leading church, and because of this, the Christian community at Rome was early regarded as the repository of the most reliable Apostolic tradition. The Vatican Hill outside Rome where Peter was believed to have been martyred became, even in the days of persecution, one of the most venerated

spots on earth. No sooner did the Roman Empire recognise the Church than a vast *basilica*, or church, rose over the body of the Apostle, and pilgrims thronged to worship at his tomb. In his name the Bishops of Rome claimed authority over all churches, sent missionaries to win Western Europe from heresy and heathenism, and rebuked emperors and kings for their presumption in daring to dispute their authority. For Peter was believed in accordance with the words of Christ to be the Rock on which the Church was built, and as such to be the symbol of Christian unity, and also the keeper of the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, so that none could enter it whom he would exclude. And these tremendous claims were transferred from the humble fisherman of Galilee to the clergy of the Church, and ultimately centred in his representatives, the two hundred and sixty popes, who claim to be his direct successors.

In a sense there is not one; there are many Peters. There is the Peter of the Gospels, the disciple of Jesus Christ on earth; the Peter of the Acts who led the Twelve in the foundation of the Christian Church; the Peter of St. Paul's epistles; the Peter of early Christian tradition; the Peter, the ideal bishop; the Peter of the City of Rome with all the sacred spots and relics connected with him; the Peter of the Papacy; the Peter as he appears to-day. His story is in fact the history of Christianity, not of its theology, so much as of its activity, its authority, its influence on the mind of man.

From a very early time the names of Peter and Paul occur as the great representatives of Christianity. Clement of Rome, probably before the end of

the first century, couples them as examples of endurance. Ignatius a few years later tells the Romans that he dare not address them as if he were Peter and Paul. Many early lists of the Twelve Apostles, though of course Paul was not properly one of them, begin with Peter and Paul. The Roman Church was founded by Peter and Paul; and that of Corinth made a similar boast. Various explanations are given of this; and it has been maintained that they were at one time the heads of two opposing factions in the Church which eventually united under their joint names. But was this really so? Did Peter and Paul actually differ seriously between themselves? This question perplexed the fathers of the fourth century, and is a puzzle to the critics of the present day.

There will be some who may ask: How is it possible to write a life of one of whom so little is known definitely as of St. Peter, when reliance has to be placed on tradition and on writings which are manifestly not by him though circulated in his name? Two epistles attributed to Peter are to be found in the New Testament. The first was universally accepted at an early date, though in modern times its authenticity has been challenged. The second was only slowly admitted among the books of the New Testament. But even granted that there are difficulties in believing either to be the genuine work of Peter, both belong to the tradition concerning him, and were not without reason honoured in the Christian body. There is also a more considerable literature bearing Peter's name and the question is, How did it come to pass that none of this was acknowledged as Scripture?

One lesson which modern historians have thoroughly realised is never to reject as useless what cannot be proved to be authentic. To be valuable, a document need not be necessarily by the person to which it is ascribed. On the contrary, it may be of the highest importance as illustrating the beliefs of some particular age. No one now, for example, accepts the False Decretals as genuine, yet they throw a flood of light on the opinion of the ninth century; and in the same way the Acts, the Gospel, the Revelation attributed to Peter reveal in what estimation the Apostle was held in very early days.

A most distinguished scholar once told the writer that his opinion was that St. Peter was a very second-rate personage as compared with St. Paul, and that he owed his prestige solely to the fact that he had known Jesus. But of the many who knew and followed Jesus on earth, the one who took the most prominent part in the extension of his message to the world must have possessed some exceptional qualities; and the very fact that Peter was singled out by the unanimous voice of the writers of the New Testament for pre-eminence is sufficient reason why he should demand our serious attention. The name by which he is known to us, even if it is no more than a coincidence, is in itself significant. At a very early date indeed the Master came to be called Jesus Christ by His disciples, and his chief apostle, Simon, was called Simon Peter. Both Christ, or Messiah, and Peter, or Cephas, are titles, and Simon had the unique honour of being styled Peter in the same way as Jesus was generally called Christ. How the Apostle attained this singular distinction the story of his career must show.

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CHAPTER ONE

Galilee and Its Lake

GALILEE was the original home of Christianity, the land of the teaching of Jesus Christ. In Galilee He gave His exposition of the ancient Law, in Galilee He worked most of His miracles, from Galilee He chose His first Apostles. It is a noteworthy fact that that development of the religion of the Old Testament which was designed to win the world arose in a district which was known from of old as "Galilee of the Gentiles." Jesus made Capernaum which in the Gospel of Matthew is said to have been "in the seacoast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim" his home; and the evangelist quotes Isaiah to show that it had been prophesied that in this territory "The people that walked in darkness should see a great light." (Is. IX: 1-2.) The preaching of Jesus went beyond the borders of these ancient tribes and extended to those of Asher and northern Dan; and when He crossed the Jordan He entered the ancient territory of Gad.

Only one of these five tribes sprang from the purest stock of Israel. Dan and Naphtali were the sons of Rachel's maid Bilhah, Gad and Asher of Leah's servant Zilpah, (Gen. XXX: 6-13), Zebulon was the sixth and youngest son of Leah. (Gen. XXX: 20). In a sense this group of tribes formed a link between Israel and the Gentile world; and it

is of interest to trace their history in the pages of the Old Testament.

These tribes are alluded to in three ancient poems in the Bible. The prophecy of Jacob in Gen. XLIX, the blessing of Moses in Deut. XXXIII, and the song of triumph of Deborah and Barak, Judges V. The "princes of Zebulon and the princes of Naphtali" are celebrated in the noble war song in Psalm LXVIII.

Yet of these tribes we know practically nothing except of the honourable part played by Zebulon and Naphtali in the great victory of Deborah and Barak over Sisera. The coastal district of Asher is mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions before Israel invaded Palestine and the tribe may have been adopted into the confederation at a later date. Dan, of which Samson is the most famous son, migrated later to the extreme north of the Promised Land from the original settlement on the coast, and established a sanctuary with the *sacra* which were stolen from Micah on Mount Ephraim. This was for many years a famous religious centre; and its first priest was possibly a descendant of Moses. (Judges XVIII: 27-30.) In Naphtali there was a Levitical city called Kadesh, a sanctuary to be distinguished from the southern Kadesh of the days of the wanderings. Kadesh of Galilee ranked with Shechem and Hebron as one of the three cities of refuge on the West of Jordan. (Josh. XX: 7.) Few indeed however are the places in Galilee proper which are of any note in ancient Israelite history.

But in Galilee there is one spot of absorbing religious and historical interest; yet it has not been of

much importance before or since. The Old Testament, except here and there in a dry geographical catalogue, does not so much as mention the lake through which the river Jordan flows and which bore the poetic name of Chinneroth, the harp, from its shape. (Numb. XXXIV: 11. Josh. XI: 2.) Not a single city of importance was on its shore, no historical event is connected with it. Yet in the first century of our era, the lake was surrounded by villages and was the centre of a teeming population. It was for this reason in all probability that Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, chose the district as a suitable place to inaugurate His ministry by proclaiming the near approach of the kingdom of the heavens, or sovereignty of God. He came down from the little hill town of Nazareth to the nearest centre of population, the villages which clustered around the lake. Two or three, Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida, are specially connected with His work; and it is remarkable that no mention is made of the more important cities of Tiberias and Taricheæ of which Josephus has so much to say. From the thirty-second chapter of the *Life* of this historian, it is evident that the people of Taricheæ possessed a regular fleet of small boats; for when he approached Tiberias with his fleet the inhabitants, he declared, saw the lake covered with boats (Josephus *Life* ch. 33); and no wonder, for Taricheæ was engaged in salting fish to supply the country. Now a boat is comparatively rare on the lake, which in the first century gave employment to hundreds of fishermen.

But fishing was not the only industry; the testi-

mony of antiquity is that the shores of the lake were remarkable for their fertility. The climate is tropical, for to reach the lake one has to descend six hundred and eighty feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews* devotes two sections to the lake and its surroundings. The water was clear, and not like that of a marsh, because the banks were sandy all around. The fish were abundant and rather resembled those of Egypt than of Asia, a fact noted by modern travellers. The water of the lake was almost warm when drawn out but became as cold as snow when exposed to the air. The western shores were well watered and marvellously fertile, and, as Josephus observes, it would seem as though the plants elsewhere confined to cold, or temperate, or tropical climates were striving to occupy the country, so well did each flourish in this happy land. Walnuts grew side by side with palm trees, and a most fertilising spring, known as Capernaum, made the district a veritable garden. (Josephus *Wars* III: 10.7-8.)

The lake was full of boats and an active trade was carried on between the cities which fringed the shores, as is evidenced from the custom officials, who like Matthew, the publican, collected the duties at the different ports. But the chief industry was fishing, and it is a marvel that so small a sheet of water as the Lake of Galilee could furnish employment for the inhabitants of these populous villages without being completely denuded of every living thing in its waters, especially as there are no permanent streams flowing into it, except the Jordan. In many countries,

notably in North America, this sheet of water would scarcely be dignified by the name of lake, being only some sixteen miles in length and at most twelve in breadth. Nevertheless, not only did the fishermen supply their own wants, but sold their fish throughout Palestine, and may even have supplied Jerusalem with that commodity. One of the largest towns was known as Taricheæ from *tarīchos*, a word meaning "dried fish," evidently because it was devoted to curing the fish for export, and the Talmud speaks of a place called "Migdal Nunaia"—the tower of fish, perhaps identical with Magdala; Bethsaida also means the "house of fish."

The two most important little cities by the Lake were Tiberias and Taricheæ, but neither is mentioned in the Gospels. Tiberias had just been built by the tetrarch, Herod Antipas, and was so named in compliment to his patron, the Emperor Tiberius. Its erection had been the cause of deep offence to the Jews because the site was an ancient cemetery and therefore unclean. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII: 2.3.)

The province of Galilee was thickly inhabited in the days of Jesus mainly by Jews, though at an early date the Israelite population had been well nigh exterminated by Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria. (II Kings XV: 29.) In the days of the Maccabees there were a few Jewish settlers; but these were not able to hold their own against the dwellers in the Greek cities of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon. Judas therefore sent his brother Simon who delivered them from their enemies, and brought them with their families to Judæa. (I Macc. V: 14-23.) This was in B. C. 164 but in the early days of Herod the Great

the Jews had returned and were evidently numerous and turbulent, as one of Herod's earliest exploits was to kill a noted brigand named Eleazar. Evidently by the early days of the first century the populous western shore of the Lake was practically Jewish.

Galilee was evidently in a prosperous condition and, considering all things, well governed. The northern districts of the Holy Land had been since the death of Herod the Great under his two sons, Antipas and Philip. That both these princes should have ruled for well nigh forty years and have retained the good will of such able and vigilant emperors as Augustus and Tiberius says much for their prudence and sagacity; and according to Josephus, Philip in his small tetrarchy east of the Jordan is described as a model ruler. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII: 4.6.) The country also seemed to have been at peace; for the war cry of Judas of Galilee, "No King but God," seems to have met with little or no response at the time, although it had fatal results at a later date. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII: 1.6.) Antipas and Philip inherited Herod the Great's passion for building and both gave the cities they erected the imperial names of Tiberias and Julias.

The Galilean Jews seem to have been a simpler folk than their kinsmen in Judæa and to have been held in little honour by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who ridiculed them for speaking in a dialect distinct from that of the south. (Mark XIV: 70.) They seem to have been hardy and courageous, and displayed these qualities later in the Jewish war. They did not fall short of the other Jews of the period in fanaticism, and it would be a mistake to clas-

sify them as ignorant folk. Every town had its synagogue and the teachers of the Law were constantly going from Jerusalem to Galilee to instruct the people and to watch that they did not relax their orthodox observance of their ancestral customs. Jesus evidently began his work in a thoroughly Jewish atmosphere.

Despite their proximity to Samaria, the Galileans had no sympathy with the religion of that section of Israel. Their orthodoxy in this respect was unexceptionable. If possible to avoid it, they would not so much as enter upon Samaritan soil on their way to Jerusalem. (John IV: 4.) This is sufficient proof that they were Jews in the strictest sense of the word, and did not claim to belong to the old tribes of Israel which had once occupied their land; but were Judæan emigrants settled in "Galilee of the Gentiles."

It is a remarkable fact that if one compares a map of Galilee in the days of the New Testament with one as it was, say, in the time of the Kingdom of Israel, or as Joshua is said to have divided it among the tribes, there is hardly a single place with the same name. Further, the site of almost all the towns and villages mentioned in the Gospel is open to dispute. Bethsaida, Capernaum, Chorazin, Nain, Cana, even Nazareth, do not occur in the Old Testament, nor do the places mentioned in the Talmud help us. Josephus, it is true, mentions Capernaum; but then he calls it not a town but a fountain (*Wars* III: 10.8); it is alluded to in the Talmud, but no one can now identify the site with precision. In fact the geography of ancient Palestine is a subject of much

more difficulty than is usually supposed. As regards the Christian sites this is in part due to the complete disappearance of Galilee, the home of the Christian movement, from the history of the Church and the necessary cessation of interest in its localities till the Empire extended its patronage to the believers.

CHAPTER TWO

The Preaching of the Baptist

WHENEVER Peter appears on the stage of history, or even on the stage of legend, he is the same. His utterances—whether they have a claim to be genuine or are manifestly spurious—reveal the same character. And it is a strange paradox that the man who was from the first the most prominent of Christ's disciples, who took the lead of the infant Church, who was regarded as the typical chief of all Christian rulers, and was acknowledged by posterity as the Vicar of Christ Himself, should be remarkable not so much for his strength and consistency, but for his impulsiveness, lapses, and regrets. These make his character attractive and lovable, but are the last attributes we should expect in one whom Jesus called a Rock and the Christian world styled "the Prince of the Apostles." But the character of Peter must be made plain in the subsequent narrative.

He lived at Capernaum with his wife and mother-in-law. He was a fisherman working in partnership with the two sons of a man named Zebedee, who seems to have owned a small fleet of fishing boats and to have employed not only his family and partners, but hired men. Peter, who then bore the Jewish name of Simon or Simeon, had a brother named Andrew, and may have been the younger of the two. According to the earliest written narrative, Jesus had appeared, proclaiming that the Kingdom

of God was at hand; and on the shore of the Lake, He called first on Simon and Andrew, and then on James and John to follow Him.

But all students of the Gospels must bear in mind that there are two if not three traditions of many events recorded in them. Of these the latest put into written form is in the Gospel according to John. Some modern scholars are of opinion that this Gospel is not the work of the Apostle, the son of Zebedee and the brother of James, and that its object is not so much to record actual facts, as to make use of its narrative to emphasise spiritual truths. But here and there it seems that the Fourth Gospel discloses an acquaintance with circumstances, either ignored by or unknown to the writers of the three first. It may be so in the account of the call of the first disciples of Jesus.

According to the Gospel of John, Andrew and an unnamed friend were disciples of John the Baptist; and if so the preaching of Jesus was intimately connected with the earlier movement inaugurated by this John. (John I: 35-42.) This question, however, is very complicated and it is necessary here to state why it is so difficult to decide.

The importance of John the Baptist in his own day is unquestionable. All the Christian evangelists emphasise his connection with Jesus; but in Josephus there is a perfectly independent account of his appearance, which in no way alludes to his furthering a Messianic movement of any description.[1]

[1] The Acts of the Apostles throughout, and in every source which may have been used by the author, carefully connects the rise of Christianity with John the Baptist. Acts I: 22; X: 37; XIII: 23-25; XVIII: 24-26; Acts XIX: 1-6.

It cannot be too often emphasised that, except what we can learn from the New Testament, we know little or nothing of the religion of the Jews in the days of Christ; and modern Jewish writers on the period have to draw their information chiefly from this source. Not that the Talmudic literature is not necessary to elucidate the subject; but always with the proviso that in its earliest written form it does not go back beyond the third century of the Christian era, when the Mishnah was edited with a definite purpose in the mind of its redactors. Still, though it must be admitted that the traditions are much older, they do not add much to our historical knowledge nor do they throw a clear light on the opinions of the people. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Talmud is not primarily a religious manual, nor an historical work: it is a law book explaining how the Mosaic legislation is to be observed. If it alludes to historical events, it is usually for the purpose of illustrating some legal principle. Thus, but for Josephus, we should learn scarcely anything of the numerous Herods, and practically the two earliest descriptions of the synagogue worship are found in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts. It is no wonder therefore that we know very little of the religious movements of the time.

But there is another literature which has received much attention in recent times: the apocalyptic visions from Daniel and Enoch and onwards, in which a Messiah, or anointed Deliverer of Israel, is to appear and save the nation either in this world or in a new one which he will create. How far this hope in-

fluenced the first followers of Jesus is an important question.

When Jesus began his ministry there were almost certainly many types of Judaism. The higher grades of the priesthood were chiefly interested in the due performance of the external ritual of the Temple. The popular teachers of the Law, or the Pharisees, were anxious to see that every Jew observed its precepts. Some doubtless looked for a time when God would be supreme, because all Israel obeyed His Law, others to a supernatural deliverance which would put all nations under the People of God.

In the midst of all these different objects and hopes, there were decidedly ascetic movements leading men to withdraw from the world altogether and to live in communities or in solitude, in what we should now call the monastic life. Evidently one of the most famous of these prophets of the wilderness was John the Baptist, who, like his predecessors, certainly gathered around him a school of disciples. Who John was, it is not easy to determine, and we may begin with the testimony of Josephus, who has no religious motive in his description.

He has related the story of how Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, divorced the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia, and of the ensuing war which resulted in the shameful defeat of Herod's army. This, according to popular opinion, was a divine punishment for Herod's having put to death a prophet named John, known as the Baptist. This man had formed a company of ascetics, whom he immersed in water (baptized) not for the forgiveness of sins, but for the bodily purity of those who

were already disciplined in righteousness. Gradually the people flocked to this new teacher, and Herod, fearing that John might cause political disturbances if prompt steps were not taken, had him executed in his prison at Machærus. A few points of interest reveal themselves in this brief statement, which Josephus made about sixty years after the event. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII: 5.2.)

In the first place, John, it is implied, was a Galilean prophet, and very popular in that district. It is not so much as hinted, moreover, that he rebuked Herod for marrying his brother's wife; and his death is attributed solely to his popularity. Further, Josephus goes out of his way to explain that John's baptism was not, as the Christian accounts say, for the forgiveness of sins, but for bodily purity. This is explained in Josephus's autobiography in which he declares that, when he was a youth, he spent three years with an ascetic called Banus who practised immersion in cold water, for the purpose of preserving chastity. (Josephus, *Life:* ch. 2.) Lastly, the scene of John's execution was not Galilee, but on the east of Jordan on the southern frontier of Herod's dominions.

When we turn to the New Testament, we see that one problem is whether John and Jesus worked in any sense together, or whether the two movements and schools of disciples were not completely independent. In the Third Gospel, Luke distinctly implies that they were kinsmen, both announced by an angel and both miraculously born within a few months of each other. (Luke I: 13-37.) This is the uniform tradition of the Christian Church.

Christian art invariably represents Jesus and the Baptist as children together. But although the opening chapters of the Lucan Gospel have been considered by some to be largely legendary, they are unquestionably taken from a very ancient Aramaic or Hebrew source; and that John belonged to a leading priestly family and Jesus was descended from David, is by no means incredible. In fact, if they were recognised as belonging to highly honoured families, it would account for both these prophets' receiving a favourable reception on the first appearance of each; nor was it easy in the Jewish community for a man to be acclaimed as a priest, or as a son of David, without good reason.

But the other evangelists say nothing of the antecedents of the Baptist and make him appear on the stage with dramatic suddenness. Mark and Matthew connect John with the Prophet of the return from the Babylonian captivity, "the Voice crying in the wilderness," and describe his garment of camel's hair and his desert food with an obvious reference to Elijah. (Mark I: 4-6; Matt. III: 1 ff.) His call is to repentance, for the Kingdom of God, or of Heaven, has drawn near. Luke follows the other synoptists, without alluding to the coming Kingdom, though with Matthew his message is of the approach of a judgment, "The axe is laid unto the root of the tree." In this Gospel John gives practical advice to the people, the publicans, and the soldiers. Both here and in Matthew the people are warned against trusting in their privileges as sons of Abraham. (Luke III: 8; Matt. III: 9.) The three evangelists agree in saying that what is called

"the baptism of repentance" is provisional. An unnamed Personage will come who will baptize, not with water but with the Holy Spirit. Matthew and Luke add, "And with fire."

Such then is the Christian tradition of the message of the Baptist. Our business now is to enquire as to its significance. It was of course coloured by the belief that John was the Elijah who prepared for the coming of the Messiah; but what we should like to know is what appeal he made to the people in his own time.

The earliest accounts of the baptism and preaching of John make the scene in the wilderness of Judæa, by the Jordan; but the stories of his death in Mark, Matthew and Josephus imply that he was a Galilean prophet, as does the Fourth Gospel, in which John is said to have baptized in "Ænon near to Salim" (John III: 23), and also "beyond Jordan" (I: 26). Further, as has been shown, the Galilean Andrew, the brother of Peter, and another were John's disciples before Jesus came on the scene.

It is probable, therefore, that John appeared as one of the old prophets with a prediction of a speedy judgment and a call to repentance, and produced a religious revival in Israel. He imitated Elijah in retiring from the haunts of men, whither his disciples followed him. As the ancient prophets had struck the imagination by symbolical acts, John seems to have washed or immersed those who resorted to him, carrying out literally the precept of Isaiah, "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings" (Is. I: 16), which after all can be described as a "baptism of repentance." His disciples multi-

plied; and in the days of Jesus were coupled with the Pharisees, as disciplining themselves by fasting. (Mark II: 18; Matt. IX: 14; Luke V: 33.) Asceticism, as is revealed in the Essenes, who excited interest even in the heathen world, and in Philo's Therapeutæ (or "healers"), was not unknown in ancient Israel. That Andrew had been drawn into the movement before the appearance of Jesus is possible, and if he was, Peter must have known about it, if he did not actually follow John.

This raises the difficult question of the relation of the Baptist as a teacher to Jesus; and an examination of the evidence reveals some perplexing contradictions. In the story of the baptism of Jesus, He comes to John with the rest of the people and the Spirit descends. In the so called Gospel of the Hebrews Jesus is advised by His brethren to go to John for baptism and replies, "What sin have I committed, unless what I now say is sin?" In this uncanonical gospel, Jesus is obviously regarded as a Man, who at baptism received the Christ spirit, and was declared to be God's Son; and in both Mark and Luke, there is no indication that He and John were known to one another. But in Matthew, John recognised Jesus and said, "I have need to be baptized of thee and comest Thou to me?" (Matt. III: 14.) In the possibly later tradition of the Fourth Gospel, John says expressly that he did not know Jesus; but God had told him that the one upon whom he should see the Spirit descending would baptize with the Holy Ghost. (John I: 33.) It is noteworthy that the Baptist nowhere calls Jesus the Messiah.

The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that

the Baptist and Jesus inaugurated two parallel but distinct movements, and that as Jesus declared Himself more openly, He announced that John was the Elijah who had prophesied the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which Jesus Himself was bringing to pass. (Matt. XI: 14.) That John should have caused Andrew and Peter to welcome Jesus and to obey His call is not incredible.

It is to the credit of the Jewish people that their aspirations have always been national, rather than individual. What they expected was the salvation of Israel. There can be no doubt that to the Jew the promised kingdom of God meant a world in which His People would be supreme. The older prophets had addressed themselves to the nation at large, rather than to persons, yet they had always emphasised the demand of God for individual righteousness. Probably John's call to repent, re-echoed by Jesus, was the same as the ancient appeal, "Turn ye," found in the prophets of the Old Testament. This meant a national repentance, which those who obeyed made an individual one; for, after all, it is only by men amending their own conduct as units that a nation can change from good to evil in the aggregate.

To every Jew calamity was the surest sign of God's being displeased with His Own People. Certainly this had happened in the days of the Baptist. Evil had already befallen Israel, and worse was evidently in store. At this time people doubtless supposed that the nation had passed through a period of great happiness under their own kings of the priestly family of the Maccabees. If—but it is only an ingenious conjecture—Psalm CX, "The Lord

said unto my Lord," &c., was written in honour of Simon, the last survivor of the brethren who delivered the people from Antiochus Epiphanes, he was looked on as a sort of Messianic deliverer; and the New Testament applies the psalm to Jesus Christ. But one has only to read Josephus, and even the later chapters of I Maccabees, to learn that the days of his dynasty were times stained by bloodshed and savagery, cruel massacres and domestic misery. Yet, under Roman and Herodian rule, those times seemed to be the good old days when Israel was free and victorious on every side, and every man sat under his own vine and under his fig tree. But these days were gone for ever, nor could the Jews expect to be delivered from Rome as they had been from Antiochus Epiphanes. For the tyrant was not a half-insane Syrian Greek King, who oppressed Israel with freakish and capricious malice, but the best organised government the world had ever known, administered by men of hard common sense. The Roman ideal was to give all subjects justice, peace, prosperity and contentment, but to stand no nonsense. "Submit and you will be tolerated, resist and you will be exterminated," was its motto. The Jews, smarting under the yoke of disciplined materialism, were provoked to a sullen discontent which was bound to break out and end in the ruin of the nation. Yet they were God's People; and surely He would deliver them. He would appoint some one to do this, a Moses to give them laws, a Samuel to save them from a worse oppression than that of the Philistines, a David to give them a new empire, an Elijah to destroy idolatry in Israel, another Simon to break the tyrants'

yoke. Or it might be that a more than mortal deliverer would arise, a Son of Man who would come as Daniel had seen him, "with the Ancient of Days," on the clouds of heaven. (Dan. VII: 13.) Such were the Messianic hopes of the time, and of the Kingdom of God which the deliverer would in the end set up.

But how was this Kingdom to come? The great rabbis of the Pharisaic party said, By observing the Law. Israel had disregarded it; let them obey it only for a day and the Messiah would come. The ascetic cried to men to come out of the world to reject its joys and renounce its duties. Those who lived their life, purified from all taint of a corrupt society, would receive their reward when God in his good time redeemed Israel.

The Apocalyptists nursed their hopes on visions of judgment—using this word in the sense of God vindicating Himself by avenging His People on their oppressors. But this deliverance would be supernatural; and all that men could do was to await its coming.

The majority of the religious Jews found in their Law the greatest consolation. Israel had the supreme honour of knowing God's will, and of alone being able to please Him by obedience. The modern dislike of legalism makes it difficult for us to understand its fascination for the Jewish people. They loved the Law, delighted in studying it, regarded its every precept a joy to carry out. This devotion to the Law made some as indifferent to what was going on in the world, as were those who had made the wilderness their home. As a rule, these enthusiasts

for the Law lived a peaceful life, although any infringement of their beloved Law might at any time arouse a dangerous outburst of fanaticism.

Lastly, there were those whom in these days of modern Zionism would be described as "activists". These did not choose to wait, either for a divinely appointed Messiah, or for a miraculous deliverance, but felt called upon to act for themselves and to imitate their heroic ancestors, who with "the praises of God in their mouths and a two-edged sword in their hands, executed vengeance upon the heathen and punishments upon the people." Such were the disciples of Judas of Galilee and the Zealots to whom the ruin of the nation at the hands of Rome was subsequently due.

The New Testament, confirmed by the silence of Josephus—and these are the only authorities we have,—emphatically declares that John the Baptist made no claim to be more than a preacher of repentance. He never said he was a deliverer of the nation, nor is he credited with any supernatural powers. Yet it seems certain that the people hailed him as a great moral teacher, and he was so remembered long after his death. Indeed there may have been before the siege of Jerusalem two sects of Judaism, one following Jesus and the other John; and John's party may, for aught we know, have been at one time the stronger of the two. It may be that the ascetic practices of the Baptist possessed an attractiveness, which the apparently less world-renouncing teaching of Jesus was supposed to lack.

In fact, the teaching of Jesus and that of John were alike in so far as both pointed out as the sole way of salvation the necessity of acting in the spirit of

the law of God; but the remarkable feature of the message of Jesus was that it did not prescribe any remedy which the Jewish world of the time had demanded. He did not, like John, go out of the world and let the people follow Him into the wilderness to admire His austerities. He did not insist on the strict fasts enjoined by the "Pharisees and the disciples of John." On the contrary He mingled freely with men, talked with them, accepted their hospitality and was reproached by the religious world for His laxity in this respect.

Whether Jesus encouraged the apocalyptic hopes of His age is open to dispute, and depends greatly on our opinion as to the genuineness of the prediction of the last days attributed to Him. Nevertheless, there are certain sayings which seem to indicate that Jesus was not in any sense a teacher of eschatology. He would not reveal when He would come again, nor when He would restore the Kingdom to Israel. (Acts I: 6 ff.) These things are in the hands of the Father. It was not given to His disciples "to know the times and the seasons": even the Son did not know the exact time. The duty of men is not to speculate, nor to try to predict, but "to watch."

As regards the Law, Jesus neither neglected to observe it, nor did He deny its authority; but it never was to Him a panacea. The Sabbath, highly prized as it was as the glory of Judaism, was to Him "not made for man, but man for the Sabbath." Moses wrote some laws, not because they were ideal, but on account of the hardness of Israel's heart. Our Lord, in short, was neither a law-breaker nor a legalist, though His system of teaching ultimately resulted in the supersession of the Law of Israel.

In days of rancorous hatred, when Palestine was divided into hostile sects, parties, and nationalities, Jesus brought the world a message of peace. He showed no sympathy with "activism" in any form. God, according to Him, could never be honoured by violence, but only by obedience. Cæsar, the Roman ruler, had his dues, which His disciples should be scrupulous to pay. (Mark XII: 17; Matt. XXII: 21; Luke XX: 25.)

It may be that the four disciples whom Jesus first called—Andrew and Peter, James and John, two pairs of brothers—represent two of these types of expectancy. If we follow the Fourth Gospel, Andrew was, as a disciple of the Baptist, trained in the ascetic school. The very fact that Jesus called the sons of Zebedee, "Sons of Thunder,"—and it was they who prayed for a place of honour in his kingdom, and desired that fire might consume the Samaritans—meant that their zeal for Him partook of the fanaticism of those who were ready to take up arms to advance the Kingdom. All were doubtless enthusiasts for the Law, and cherished hopes of a miraculous deliverance. But it may be that Simon Peter in his personal devotion to his Master, really understood Jesus' object better than the rest and for this reason became in the end the acknowledged leader and mouthpiece of His immediate disciples.

At any rate it was a proof of the truly divine nature of the message of Jesus that it set aside all popular hopes and expectations, and put in their place a far higher conception of man's duty to God—and a truer ideal of His kingdom.

CHAPTER THREE

The Call of Peter

A very beautiful and useful book appeared some years ago called *Pastor Pastorum.* The author, Henry Latham, the Master of one of the colleges in Cambridge, used the Gospels to show how our Lord trained His disciples for the work before them. But it is strange that, with the possible exception of John the son of Zebedee, none of the Apostles but Peter plays a part in the history of the early days of the Church. Nor does tradition assign them as founders of any important churches in the Roman world. Most of them are purely legendary figures. It may therefore safely be asserted that the training of the Apostles, so far as our knowledge extends, is that of Peter, James, and John, and virtually that of Peter only. It may be, of course, that John, to whom several books of the New Testament are ascribed, is the Apostle: but even in the third century there was a question as to whether another John was not the author of the Book of Revelation, and in our day the rest of the books which bear his name are supposed to belong to a later age. That Matthew is the author of the Gospel bearing his name is of considerable doubt.

Jesus left his home at Nazareth and began His mission by preaching in Galilee. From among the fisher-folk of the populous villages by the Galilean lake, He selected a few men who responded to His

call to be His companions and disciples. The inner circle of this little group were Peter, James and John; and as has been shown, Andrew, Peter's brother, was the first to answer the call.

The narratives in the Gospels of the call of the disciples differ in some respects, and may be summarised thus for the convenience of the reader:

Mark I: 14-20

After John had been put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee preaching, "The Kingdom of God has drawn near, repent and believe the good news." As he walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew casting a net. He said, "Follow me and I will make you become fishers of men." They forsook their nets and followed him. He went on a little way and saw James, the son of Zebedee and John his brother mending their nets, and called them. They left Zebedee with the hired men and followed Jesus.

Matthew IV: 18-22

The same story slightly, as is Matthew's wont, abbreviated. Zebedee is left by his sons, nothing being said of the hired men in verse 21. Mark makes the scene Capernaum.

Luke V: 1-10

This evangelist places the call of Peter after Our Lord had preached in the synagogue at Nazareth, and had worked various miracles including the healing of Simon's wife's mother at Capernaum. Jesus therefore was well known before he

called Peter, James and John. It was evidently morning and their boats were empty and the fishermen washing their nets after an unsuccessful night's work. Jesus told them to put out and lower the net. They did so and caught so many fish that the net began to break. Both boats were so filled with fish that they almost sank. Peter fell at Jesus' knees and said, "Depart from me for I am a sinful man, O Lord." He, with James and John, the sons of Zebedee, followed Jesus.

It would appear that the Third Evangelist had much the same story as the others but has dramatised it and given it a colour of his own. He has, in fact, indulged his literary and artistic sense and has painted a picture of rare beauty, taking the details from the same source as Mark and Matthew, but allowing his fancy fuller play. There was evidently a tradition that Jesus had caused a miraculous draught of fishes, and this is also found in the supplementary twenty-first chapter of John, as happening after the Resurrection. Luke connects the miracle with the call of the first disciples and the promise that they should become "fishers of men." Simon Peter, with his usual impulsiveness, sees a proof of the Master's divine mission and falls at his feet. But the simpler narrative of Mark and Matthew is really the more sublime. Jesus is walking on the shore of the Lake in the early morning; the fishermen after a long night's toil are at work on the shore. Simon and Andrew are trying to catch small fish with a casting net which they threw from the shoulder making it spread out, being weighted at the bottom, and when drawn

up, contracting and enclosing the fish. James and John have left a comparatively large boat belonging to their father Zebedee and are mending their nets. As Elijah had called Elisha from the plough, and he had instantly abandoned all to become a disciple, so did these four follow Jesus at His call. But Luke omits a characteristic detail. He says nothing of the occupation at the time of Simon and Andrew (indeed he does not mention Andrew at all). Without doubt he felt that his readers would not know what an *amphiblêstron* or casting net was. Yet the mention of one is a proof of the genuineness of the earlier narrative, since it is only in still waters with a sandy bottom such as the Lake of Galilee that such an implement can be used. The story of the call is full of local incident and must have come from the spot.

This relation of the circumstances of the call of the disciples raises questions far more important and difficult to answer, namely, for what purpose did Jesus call them? and why did they obey so readily?

Each of the Jewish Rabbis certainly must have had his school of pupils, and so far as we know have instructed them in his method of interpreting the Law. There were certainly several societies or schools in Judaism, and the Pharisees formed one, distinguished for the affection its members bore one another. The Essenes were well known as a semi-monastic fraternity; and the Therapeutæ in Egypt, if we may believe Philo, organized regular monasteries. John the Baptist also had his disciples, as both the Gospels and Josephus imply, under some sort of ascetic discipline, not unlike that of the Pharisees. Both these authorities agree that the people sought the Baptist,

rather than the Baptist the people. But Jesus began His work as a preacher, seeking out the haunts of men; and though He retired to solitary places at times, He mingled familiarly with His fellowmen, accepting their hospitality and even sharing in their festivities. Yet there was an essentially ascetic element in the life He led. He had no home; as He declared, He "had not where to lay his head." He evidently expected His followers to accept a life of renunciation and hardship. To be with Him meant arduous work and much privation. But the question is: for what purpose did He choose this inner circle, which He called to co-operate with Him? This is complicated by what we are bound to recognise later, namely, that, except Peter and John, none of the immediate disciples is known for certain among the leading preachers of the Gospel, and that Galilee, the scene of the Lord's labours, soon ceased to all appearance to be influenced by His teaching, and is only once mentioned outside the Gospels in the New Testament, in Acts IX: 31.

The views of the work of Jesus in training His disciples have been either openly stated or are implied in the utterances of many who have seriously considered the subject. Before describing His methods, it will be of some service to state the various theories as to His object. These are inevitably influenced by the bias of those who advance them, but all contain an element of truth, which, if too logically pressed, leads to misunderstanding.

(1) The first is that Jesus from the very outset of His ministry determined to found the Church, of which the Twelve Apostles, with Peter as their head,

were to be the official rulers. Most organised churches, not only those of antiquity, but many of modern origin, draw a distinction between their regularly appointed ministers and the rest of the company of believers. They agree in the belief that, when the Lord chose the Twelve Apostles, He provided His Church with a government for the future. As to what form of government is most in accordance with the mind of the Master is an open question; but the basis of every theory is the same, namely that the Christian ministry is, in some sense or other, representative of the little company chosen by Jesus Christ when He lived among men in Galilee. For the present purpose it is needless to discuss whether this college of the Twelve was designed to assume a papal, an episcopal, a presbyterian or any other constitution. All who hold this view agree that Jesus founded a church and provided it with a Divine Government.

(2) On the other hand there are many who look upon this hierarchical conception as opposed to the whole spirit of the teaching of the Lord. That He should have organised what ultimately became a dominant ecclesiastical order is utterly repugnant to their conception of Him. But many who are of this opinion realise that Jesus must have desired that His teaching should continue after Him; and, even if He did not found a church, He at least considered that His followers should form communities to carry on His work, though their organisation was not definitely prescribed.

(3) But there is yet a third opinion, which at present enjoys much popularity, that Jesus in no sense

looked to any organisation of His kingdom on earth. The advocates of this view fall under two categories, (a) the eschatologists and (b) the champions of an unorganised Christianity.

(a) The so-called eschatological school hold that the main purpose of Jesus was to announce the immediate coming of God's kingdom, which He believed would be in His lifetime. Therefore He would have no need to form a church, nor to organise His followers, as they would immediately share in the glories of the age to come.

(b) On the other hand many now consider that Jesus gave the world eternal principles of religion, teaching the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and deemed that it was not necessary to ensure the propagation of His principles among mankind by organising any Christian society. This opinion is founded on sentiment rather than on the basis of Scripture, history, or even human experience, and is a protest against all claim of authority made either for the Bible or the Church.

Then there are three groups of views regarding the purpose of Jesus in forming a school during His earthly ministry but it may be that Jesus found rather than founded a church. If the word ἐκκλησία means the Jewish community, the society in which the followers of Jesus found themselves was no new thing, but the true Israel. The prophets had already made a distinction between the sinful nation which they denounced, and the faithful remnant to whom they promised salvation. Those who confessed Christ never believed that the Church had begun with His appearance on earth. On the contrary

Hermas in *the Shepherd* (Vis. II: 4) is instructed that, "The Church . . . is old; and for her sake the world was established." In the Gnostic system, the Church is an *Æon*, i.e., an Eternity. It is now time to discuss how it was that even a small company should have joined Jesus, sacrificing all to profit by His instruction. This must be done by reference to the only authorities for His life, the Christian Gospels.

CHAPTER FOUR

Peter's Training by Jesus

JESUS appeared as a prophet, perhaps at first as a preacher in the synagogue, declaring, according to Matthew (III: 2 and IV: 17), that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. The origin of the Jewish synagogues is unknown; but they were all important for the preservation of Israel's religion. Without the synagogue Judaism could never have been diffused throughout the known world. It is remarkable that, though nothing like this worship is prescribed in the Law, it should have been spontaneously developed and become universal. The Temple at Jerusalem could not have preserved Judaism. Its worship with all its dignity and splendour could never have been more than local. Only on rare occasions could the Jews who lived even a few miles from Jerusalem have participated in it. Its services were entrusted to an hereditary priesthood, and the common people could never have fully understood its elaborate ceremonial. With the synagogue it was otherwise. Its services were simple and easily understood. The Law and the Prophets were systematically read, translated, and explained. The prayers were familiar to all, the ceremonies were few and easy to follow. The government was not priestly, but in the hands of boards of elders. The constitution was on the whole informal. The buildings were often simple and unadorned, and were used for wor-

ship, instruction, and disputation on points of law. Justice between Jew and Jew was administered by its courts. In every town and village there was at least one synagogue. Every synagogue was an educational centre, as the Jewish religion could only be practised by those who had at least some knowledge of the Law and of the Prophets. Even though we may consider that it was formal and mechanical, Judaism was never unintelligent. At home and in the school every boy was carefully instructed as to how the Law should be obeyed. His memory was developed by having to learn the prayers, and he was trained by disputation alike to reason and to think about the exact meaning of the Law. It is no exaggeration to maintain that the intellectuality of the Jew is due to centuries of discipline in the study of his religion. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Jesus addressed His words to ignorant crowds, or chose entirely uneducated men as His disciples. His words could only be understood by those who were familiar from their earliest days with the scriptures of Israel. In all His recorded utterances Jesus assumes that His hearers were familiar with the Old Testament.

Nor was it only Israel which benefited by the synagogue. Its services were evidently attractive to the many Gentiles who heard the Law and Prophets read in Hebrew, and interpreted for the benefit of those to whom it was a dead language, and also listened to the sermons or discourses which it was customary to deliver.

That Jesus could become an honoured preacher in the synagogues is proof that the pulpit was not confined to any species of clergy. Whether at this time

a rabbi or teacher of the Law was formally appointed cannot be ascertained. At any rate, even in modern Judaism, knowledge rather than ordination gives a man the right to teach. In Jerusalem, no doubt, Peter and the Apostles were despised as ignorant and unlettered men (Acts IV: 13); but this was in part due to their accent being provincial and sounding uncouth to the priests of Jerusalem.

Jesus commended Himself not merely as a proclaimer of the coming kingdom, but as One gifted with miraculous power. Without entering into any discussion of an oft-debated question, it may be conceded that in the East, religious teachers were, and are still expected to be able to do wonders, and especially to cure the sick and those believed to be under the influence of evil spirits. That Jesus possessed in an extraordinary degree those powers, with which other teachers were credited, must be allowed, nor could He have attracted devoted followers had they not acknowledged His superiority in this respect.

In a sense, however, the implicit belief in the wonder-working powers of Jesus was a hindrance rather than a help in the work He had undertaken, which was not only to proclaim the coming Kingdom of God, but to purify and ennoble men in order to enable them to welcome it. What the majority of His followers desired was unquestionably the predominance of the Chosen Nation, and even the Apostles are represented as enquiring after this Resurrection: "Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" (Acts I: 6.) James and John were patriots; but in the day of victory, they hoped to obtain power for themselves; and they or their mother re-

quested that they might "sit at His right hand and His left in His Kingdom." (Mark X: 37; Matt. XX: 21.) Nothing could have been further from Jesus' object than this ambition. He desired that His followers should, even in His triumph when the Apostles should judge the twelve tribes of Israel, serve rather than rule. Yet it was impossible for even His most intimate adherents not to hope that One Who could do such miracles could not accomplish His promises by some act of Divine Power, and by some startling catastrophe to bring about the rule of God on earth. This may explain the story of His Temptation, His absolute refusal to give a sign (Matt. XII: 38 ff.), and also the secrecy with which he performed some of his acts of mercy, telling those He healed "to say nothing to any man." Mark I: 44.) This also helps to account for the fact that Jesus had to die on the Cross, to be forsaken by all, to bring His work on earth to an end not in triumph but in disaster. It was not by an apparent triumph, but by His humiliating failure, that Jesus became the Saviour of the World.

That Peter and his companions did not obey the Master's call because of the sublimity of His moral teaching is incredible, but it was only very slowly that they appreciated its true significance. To do so they had to undergo the training of constant companionship with the Master, and to learn by varied experience the real object of His mission to mankind.

How long the ministry of Jesus lasted is practically impossible to say with precision; it could not have extended over any considerable period, certainly not more than three years, and possibly it

lasted only one. Here it must suffice to give the briefest possible sketch of the Galilean ministry from the call of the first Apostles to the entry into Jerusalem.

Following the Gospel of Mark, we notice that Jesus signalised His early preaching by miracles, the fame of which attracted vast crowds to see and hear Him, and to be healed themselves or to obtain health for their sick and afflicted friends. The first recorded miraculous healing of disease was that of Peter's wife's mother, who was suffering from fever. It is probable that the fame of Jesus as a worker of wonders attracted the majority of His early disciples and made them more ready to listen to His teaching. Soon the synagogues became too small to contain the crowds who desired to hear Jesus, and He taught from a boat moored near the shore of the lake, on hillsides, and even in the desert whither the people followed Him. This is the bright side of the Gospel narrative—a period of popularity and enthusiasm for the new gospel of the Kingdom.

The attraction of the teaching of Jesus must have been heightened by His method of instruction by parables, the very first of which, that of the Sower, was specially explained to a chosen few of His disciples. It taught them what to expect when they should go forth to deliver their message to people who are compared to the bare rock, the stony ground, and the land full of weeds. On these the effect of their preaching would be absolutely vain, short-lived, or successful only for a time. But they would be absolutely repaid when their message was accepted with sincerity, the good ground which would bear

fruit thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and even an hundred-fold. It is a remarkable fact that, though there are parables in the Old Testament, though the Rabbis used the same method of instruction, there are hardly any parables similar to those of Jesus in the New Testament, except in the epistle attributed to James the "brother" of the Lord, which displays the same tendency to illustrate great truths from the homely events of ordinary life. (James I: 10 ff.; III: 3-12.)

Having shown by example how He taught, Jesus next proceeded to encourage his disciples how to put it into practice. He selected Twelve, whom, according to Mark's Gospel, he called "apostles" and sent them out to the people in pairs. In the account of the instructions in Matthew—they were commanded to confine their message to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" and to avoid the cities of the Gentiles and even of the Samaritans. (Matt. X: 5-6.) As Peter is represented in Acts as being the pioneer apostle to these several classes, it may be well to notice the attitude of Jesus to each.

The Jews declared that the Samaritans were the descendants of the heathen planted in the cities of Israel by Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, whose religion was as corrupt as their origin, since "they feared the Lord and served their own gods." (II Kings XVII: 33.) They maintained that they were true sons of Jacob. (John IV: 12.) As a matter of fact they were, and still are, an heretical sect of Judaism. In the Gospel according to Luke they are twice favourably mentioned, in the parable of the Good Samaritan, and in the story of the cleansing of

the ten lepers (Luke X: 33 ff.; XVII: 11 ff.); and James and John are rebuked for requesting Jesus to send fire from heaven to destroy one of their villages which would not receive Him. (Luke IX: 51 ff.)

Two acts of mercy towards heathens by Jesus are recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, the healing of the centurion's Servant and of the daughter of the Syrophœnician woman. In both the marvellous faith of the petitioner is emphasised. "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel" (Matt. VIII: 10), and "O woman, great is thy faith." (Matt. XV: 28.) It would seem that these miracles are recorded in order to show that a time would come when the Gentiles would insist on sharing in the privileges Christ offered first to Israel and would in the end take the Kingdom of heaven "by force." If so, they illustrate how Jesus was training His disciples, and especially Peter, for the work before them.

But early in all the Gospel narratives there are indications of the hostility which Jesus and His friends had to encounter. In Josephus' account of John the Baptist, Herod Antipas left him alone till he became so popular that it appeared to be necessary, in order to prevent any possible outbreak, to put him to death. Official Judaism was equally suspicious of the growing popularity of Jesus. He was distrusted by the Pharisees, and also by the disciples of the Baptist for the supposed laxity of His disciples in neglecting the fasts. He was suspected of relaxing the law of the Sabbath, which was the most distinguished feature of Judaism. He had attacked the traditions so dear to the Pharisaic party as nullifying the law of God. From the same motive, as Josephus had attributed to

him in regard to the Baptist, Herod desired to kill Jesus. At last He and His disciples were driven out of Galilee and finally found themselves in the half heathen tetrarchy of that Herod Philip, whom Josephus commends so highly.

Here Jesus asked His disciples whom men thought Him to be. The reply was "Elijah," "John the Baptist" or "one of the ancient prophets." Then Jesus put the pertinent question, "But who say ye that I am?" Peter replied, "Thou art the Messiah or Christ." (Mark VIII: 29.) His words literally founded the Christian religion; for "Jesus is the Christ" is the first creed of the Church; and the realisation of this was the point to which all the preliminary training of the apostles by Jesus had been directed.

It is often asserted and widely believed that if we only had the originals of our Gospels we should have a very different picture of the Person and work of Jesus. He would then appear much less unnatural, i.e., less unlike an ordinary man, His miracles would be few and easily explained, His teaching would be less mysterious and more on a level with our conceptions of what it should have been. It is sometimes implied that in some curious way, and at an indefinite period, the Church authorities brought the four Gospels into harmony with opinions about Jesus current in the second, third or even fourth centuries, that they rejected the genuine tradition concerning Him for something more orthodox. It has even been suggested and believed—especially by those who have not troubled to read them—that the so-called Apocryphal Gospels contain early material

rejected by the editors of the accepted records in the Christian New Testament. The result of the impression thus produced has been seen in the many attempts to rationalise, liberalise, and even to vulgarise the so-called historical Jesus.

Had one of the Apostles kept a diary of his exact impressions of Jesus from his call to the time he went with the Master up to Jerusalem, we might have a judgment of Him as a Rabbi or human prophet. This we have not. Any document written by a believer after the Crucifixion and all that followed must be coloured by a belief in the superhuman character of One who was no longer his Friend and Companion but his Lord. For it may be asserted with confidence that all who accepted Jesus as the Christ acknowledged that He had risen from the dead, was alive for evermore, and had ascended to the Father. Suppose a source of the earliest Gospel to go back to the days when the ministry of Jesus on earth was a very recent memory, it is certain that it would be coloured by the assumption that He was at least more than other men. As it is, one is amazed at the frankness of some passages of the Gospels, even the Fourth, concerning Him.

To understand the import of Peter's confession it is necessary by an effort of the imagination to endeavour to realise the nature of the intercourse of Jesus with His disciples up to that moment. Beyond all doubt He was to the world an ordinary man, a carpenter by trade, honoured as a teacher, but chiefly by Galilean peasants, and certainly not ranked among the leading rabbis of His time. He had a great power of healing diseases, but so had many of His

contemporaries, at least in public estimation. His teaching, it is true, was so striking that some thought that in Him the age of prophecy had returned. On the other hand the prominent officials of the Jews questioned the soundness of His doctrine and His own family had at times doubts as to His sanity. (Mark III: 21.) The people of Nazareth who had known Him from childhood had rejected Him; and at this time He and His disciples were fugitives from Galilee and forced to take refuge in a semi-heathen district. At such a time when the ministry of Jesus had proved at least a partial failure Peter declared his Master to be the Messiah in whom all the hope of Israel was centred. The words "Thou art the Christ" were, in whatever sense they are taken, a sublime exhibition of the most absolute faith and confidence in Jesus. It is now necessary to see what meaning may have at this time been attached to the word Messiah or Christ and how Jesus accepted the confession of His disciple.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Christ, and the Promise to Peter

THERE has been so long an impression that the entire Jewish nation at the time of our Lord expected the coming of a Messiah and that the so-called Kingdom of God could only be brought about by some supernatural Being inaugurating it upon earth, that the difficulty of the subject of Jewish Messianic hopes in the days of the New Testament has only been fully realised of late years. To treat fully of such a theme would be to depart from the narrative of Peter's career. All that can here be done is to give a general sketch.

In the Old Testament the word Messiah is applied to the Kings of Judah, to Cyrus, King of Persia, to priests and to prophets. There is no instance of any use of "The Messiah" in the sense in which Christians subsequently applied it to Christ; for a Messiah was a man selected by God for a particular purpose, to rule, prophesy, or deliver the nation from its enemies; he was set apart, though not necessarily, by being anointed. With the idea of a Divine Messiah the Jews were not familiar. Even in the second century Trypho the Jew, in his debate with Justin Martyr denies that the expected Messiah is anything more than a human deliverer. Peter, therefore, at the time he made his confession may have meant no more than that he recognised in Jesus the deliverer raised up by God to save Israel.

Let us now examine the parallel accounts in the three Gospels, holding for future consideration the famous blessing pronounced by the Lord on Peter.

Mark VIII: 29-32	*Matthew* XVI: 16, 20-21	*Luke* IX: 20
Thou art the Christ. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him. And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again.	Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. . . . Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ. From that time forth Jesus Christ began to show unto his disciples that he must go unto Jerusalem and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day, and he spoke the saying openly.	(Thou art) the Christ of God and he straitly charged them and commanded them to tell no man that thing. Saying, The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be slain, and be raised on the third day.

It must be evident from the similarity of the language that this passage must have a common source, slightly altered by each evangelist, unless Mark's is the original. It is evident that Jesus had not up to now declared himself to be the Christ, even to His chosen disciples. Peter had discovered the fact, and the Master now shows what was implied by it.

In the first place His Messiahship must remain a secret. To proclaim to the world at this juncture that Jesus had come to deliver God's people would be to ruin everything. In the inflammable condition of the country such an announcement would assuredly provoke a wild rebellion; and all hope of a salvation,

according to all Jesus had been teaching men to prepare for, would be quenched in blood. It is significant that, when James and John had realised that Jesus was Messiah, they exhorted Him to destroy a Samaritan village by fire from heaven as Elijah had the men whom the King of Israel had sent to arrest him. (Luke IX: 52-55.)

Jesus next explained that as Messiah He must deliver the people by suffering, rejection, and death. This was a revelation to His disciples, and Peter, taking him aside, charged Him (using the same word as Jesus had when He told the disciples to keep His Messiahship a secret) not to talk in this fashion. (Mark VIII: 32.) Here we have sufficient proof that the evangelists Matthew and Mark are agreed that the idea of a suffering Messiah was non-existent in the minds of the disciples, before the Crucifixion. It is to be remarked that Luke, who had evidently Mark or his source before him, omits all notice of Peter rebuking Christ.

Jesus went on to warn His disciples that henceforth following Him meant suffering for them. They must "take up the cross" if they would share in His victory as a deliverer.

We may now consider the words of Jesus addressed to Peter which are found only in Matthew: "And Jesus answered and said to him, Happy art thou Simon son of John, for flesh and blood did not reveal this to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee, Thou art *Petrus* and upon this Rock (*Petra*) I will build my church and the gates of the grave (Hades) shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of the

heaven, and what thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven and what thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (Matt. XVI: 17-19.)

The explanation of these words in later days must be reserved for the present. Here we have to deal with their significance at the time. Much depends on the language used on this occasion by our Lord. If He spoke in Greek then the distinction often made between πέτρος, a stone, and πέτρα, a rock, is a possible one, and the rock may conceivably be Peter. But if, as the Fourth Gospel and St. Paul agree, Jesus called His Apostle *Kaipha* in Aramaic, there can be no distinction between the words as in the Greek; and Peter must be the Rock.[1]

Another point to notice is that the whole passage in Matthew is unique. Moreover, it breaks up the story of Mark in which Peter's confession is followed immediately by the change to tell no man, whereas Matthew inserts the words to Peter. The question therefore is, Are they part of the original story and why are they inserted in the First Gospel?

It may be a simple solution of the difficulty to say that these cannot have been the actual words of Jesus, and that they must have been inserted at a later date for the glorification of Peter. But, in addition to the fact that no MS. or version has any important variation, the passage must have been of very early date, before there could be any reason to assert a

[1] A possible explanation from the Aramaic:
"Thou (*art* drops out, as having been added by a translator into Greek) Kaiphas, upon this kaipha," etc., in which "Thou Kaipha" only means: "Take note, Peter, I am speaking to thee."
Kaipha usually means "stone"—in our English sense: possibly "rock," but commonly "stone," as *e.g.*, precious *stone* (kaipha).

primacy of Peter which he had not hitherto enjoyed. As, however, the Roman Church has claimed the text in question as a proof that its bishop, as the successor of Peter, enjoys to this day a primacy sanctioned by Christ Himself, an element of prejudice has influenced many interpreters. In any attempt, however, to explain the meaning of the passage this controversial aspect should be disregarded in order to try to discover its meaning when the Lord spoke, or at least when "Matthew" placed it in the Gospel.

It is admitted that the name of the Apostle was Simon, and that this was changed to Peter. Everywhere in the New Testament, with one or two exceptions, he is called Peter or Cephas, the Greek and Aramaic for a rock. This is not a name but a title, which like "Christ" came to be used as a proper name. But how came Simon to be called The Rock? The Fourth Gospel ignores the Matthæan story and makes Jesus give the name when he called Simon to follow Him; and in Mark, when He appointed the Twelve, He called Simon, Peter. Yet there must have been some special reason for so designating the Apostle, and in Matthew's Gospel we have the only clue as to the special occasion on which the name "the Rock" was bestowed.

In the Old Testament, the word Rock is frequently applied to God; in the New, St. Paul explains the Rock which followed Israel in the wilderness as Christ. (I Cor. X: 4.) Why Peter received this strange name is in itself a mystery.

So is Matthew's use of the word ἐκκλησία, or Church, which never occurs in any other sense in the Gospel, and only once elsewhere in Matthew XVIII:

17, where it does not seem to mean the Christian body. In Acts and Paul it occurs frequently. That Peter was the Rock on which the Church should be built was recognised at a very early date. It troubled St. Augustine (*d*430) the most acute thinker, and, one may add, the most candid of the Fathers. At the end of his life he wrote his *Retractions* showing instances where he had occasion to reconsider his previous views. He says he had always followed St. Ambrose, whose hymn he quotes, in which it is implied that Simon Peter is the rock on which Christ founded the Church. He admits that he has often explained Matt. XVI: 16 in this sense. But he adds it was not said, "Thou art a rock (*petra*) but thou art *Petrus*"; the Rock is Christ whom Simon, as all the Church does, confessed, and was called *Petrus*. The question is left open—"Which view is the more likely, let the reader decide." Cyril of Alexandria, assuredly a great theologian, is as perplexed on this point as Augustine himself. This view, therefore, cannot be dismissed as a Protestant evasion, ingeniously designed to refute the Papal claim. The later interpretation of this most difficult passage including the bestowal of the keys on Peter must be reserved for further discussion in the proper place. But whether the words attributed to the Lord are authentic or not they are, as Mr. Montefore says, "none the less a truthful interpretation of the history of the church."

The confession of Peter was followed after six days by the Transfiguration, a revelation to the three chosen apostles, Peter, James, and John, of their Lord in glory in company with Moses and Elijah.

What is related of Peter on this occasion is a significant illustration of his character. The vision, as is said in each Gospel, was a terrifying one. When it was passing, Peter summoned courage enough to ask leave to build three tents for Jesus, Moses and Elijah, but both Mark and Luke say his words were due to fear, and that he did not know what he was saying. (Mark IX: 2 ff.; Matt. XVII: 1 ff.; Luke IX: 28 ff.)

Peter's confession, as is apparent from the whole subsequent narrative, had a strange effect on the disciples of Jesus. They accepted the fact that He was the Messiah, but refused to take His warning words about suffering and death seriously. What filled their minds was the thought of the coming kingdom, and the place they were to occupy in it. James and John, or their mother for them, ask to sit on the right hand and left of Christ. Even at the Last Supper it is recorded that the apostles strove which of them should be the greatest. (Luke XXII: 24 ff.) When all these hopes were blasted by the arrest of Jesus, "All the disciples forsook Him and fled." (Matt. XXVI: 56.)

One of the most difficult incidents in the Gospels is Peter's denial of Christ, not because it is improbable, for it is in keeping with his character, but because all four evangelists—even John whose description of the Supper is so different from that of the other evangelists—mention Jesus foretelling that Peter would deny Him. The problem is why such stress should be laid on an event so discreditable to the Apostle who played the most prominent part after the departure of the Lord. Yet even here

Peter tried to make a bolder stand than any of his colleagues. The Fourth Gospel at least credits him with an attempt to rescue his Master in Gethsemane; when the others fled, Peter followed Jesus to the palace of the High Priest. (John XVIII: 10 and 15.) There he saved himself by denying to the servants in the hall that he knew Him. Peter's repentance for what he had done was immediate; but the very fact that he had for a moment denied the Lord made an ineffaceable impression on all believers. In view of his subsequent conduct the fact he had done so seemed astonishing.

No one has yet succeeded in disentangling the different statements about the appearances of the Risen Lord. That He rose from the dead, is a necessary article of faith; that all His followers believed He had, is an undisputable fact. The earliest written record is that of Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. His exact words are, "That he was seen by Cephas, then by the Twelve." (XV: 5.) Neither Mark nor Matthew say anything of this appearance to Peter apart from the rest, nor does John. Luke, however, implies it in the saying of the eleven Apostles: "The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon." (XXIV: 34.)

In the Fourth Gospel, however, there is a supplementary chapter. The story is obviously concluded at the end of John XX: 31. "These things have been written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life in his name." The twenty-first chapter relates a manifestation of Jesus, "by the Sea of Tiberias"—the modern name it should be noticed of

what is generally in the New Testament called the "Sea or Lake of Galilee." The twentieth chapter implies that Jesus had been seen in Gethsemane by Mary Magdalene, and twice in Jerusalem, once by the Apostles without Thomas, and a week later by them and Thomas, who doubted their story and was then confirmed in his faith. Here is an agreement with Luke, who places the appearances in or in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, whereas, as Mark implies, Matthew makes Galilee the scene of the revelation of the Risen Christ.

In John XXI the Apostles are represented as having returned to Galilee and resumed their occupation as fishermen. Those enumerated are Simon Peter, Thomas, called Didymus (both names mean the Twin), Nathaniel of Cana of Galilee, the sons of Zebedee, and two unnamed disciples. They have caught nothing and when Jesus appears, He orders them to let down the nets and a great draught of a hundred and fifty-three fishes is the result. Peter, hearing the unnamed disciple who relates the story, say, "It is the Lord," left the boat after putting on his fisher's coat and reached the shore before the others. The precision with which every detail is given is remarkable. Jesus invites the disciples to break their fast, He having provided a meal of bread and fish, which He distributed. (John XXI: 13.)

Then follows a remarkable conversation. Jesus asks Peter twice if he loves Him, using the word ἀγαπάω; and Peter replies that he does, employing a different expression (φιλέω). Jesus a third time adopts Peter's word and puts the same question. Peter, vexed at being doubted answers, "Lord, thou

knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee (φιλέω)." To each of Peter's answers our Lord gives three similar injunctions, "Feed my lambs," "Be a shepherd to my sheep," "Feed my sheep." It is to be observed that Jesus rarely if ever calls Peter by this name. Here and elsewhere he addresses him as "Simon son of John." The meaning of this passage is clear enough. The Lord entrusts Simon with the pastoral office. Paul is said to be "a chosen vessel to bear His name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel." (Acts IX: 15.) To Peter is given the less heroic task of ministering to the Church of Christ. Paul is the preacher and Peter the pastor of early days; what appears to be the humbler rôle is given the higher honour.

What follows shows that the Fourth Gospel or this addition to it was written after the death of Peter and is the earliest evidence of his martyrdom, which is not only predicted but had occurred before the death of the unnamed "disciple who wrote these things." The Risen Lord solemnly warns Peter, "Amen, Amen I say to thee, when thou wast young thou usest to gird thyself and walk whither thou desiredst; but when thou growest old, thou shalt stretch forth thine hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee where thou wouldst fain not go." This, adds the writer, "he spake signifying by what death he should glorify God." Then Peter asked the Lord what the other disciple's fate would be, and was told, "If I will that he tarry (on earth) till I come what is it to thee? do *thou* follow me." (John XXI: 20-22.)

If we enumerate the occasions on which Peter takes

an active part it will at once be evident how consistent is the representation of him in all four Gospels. Peter falling at Jesus' feet and crying, "Depart from me for I am a sinful man, O Lord" (Luke V: 8); Peter attempting to walk on the water to meet Christ and crying out with fear as he began to sink (Matt. XIV: 30); Peter declaring as a matter of course that Jesus would pay the tax to the Temple (Matt. XVII: 24 ff.); Peter confessing Jesus to be the Christ and then instantly remonstrating with Him (Mark VIII: 29 ff.); Peter at the Transfiguration; Peter refusing to let Jesus wash his feet (John XIII: 6-9); Peter denying Christ; Peter running to the sepulchre and entering when John hesitated to do so. (John XX: 2 ff.) Peter, as in the closing scene by the sea of Tiberias, is always the same—impulsive, affectionate, easily disheartened, failing, yet always returning to his allegiance to the Master. He is the type of the Church militant with its many shortcomings, not of the Church triumphant. But it is through failure and inconsistency, repentance and a return to loyalty that the great triumphs here on earth are won.

Having considered the Apostle as a disciple of Jesus we now turn to him as a leader in the Church of Christ.

CHAPTER SIX

Peter and the Beginnings of the Church

One of the most difficult but often unsuspected problems in Church history is to supply the connecting link between the Gospel according to St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. It is generally agreed that Acts is a continuation of the Gospel story, and that at any rate in their present form, the two books are the work of the same author.

Yet when this has been conceded, the Jesus Who is proclaimed in Acts to be Lord and Christ, seems very unlike the Jesus of the Gospel according to Luke; and the Peter of the Gospel even more different from the Peter portrayed in its continuation. Of course, it may be urged with justice that the Apostles regarded their Risen, Ascended and Glorified Master in a completely altered light from their view of the Jesus who had been their companion on earth, and it is a testimony to the fidelity of the historian so to represent him. Again, Peter, the simple disciple, is very different from the eloquent exponent of the new faith, as he is depicted in Acts. It is, moreover, difficult to account for the absence of any allusions in Peter's speeches in Acts II-IV to the ministry of Christ on earth, His method of teaching and His care for sufferers. Fortunately, it is the province of the historian to relate the facts as he finds them, and to leave theories to the critical scholar.

The Acts of the Apostles, which is our only

authority, tells very little of the first days of the Church. The first five chapters describe a coterie of Jewish believers in the Messiah living a life of almost ideal simplicity, sharing their property with one another, and occupied entirely with devotional practices. The only events recorded after the Ascension are (1) the choice of Matthias; (2) the day of Pentecost; (3) the healing of a lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; (4) the episodes of the generosity of Barnabas, and the duplicity of Ananias and Sapphira; (5) the arrest of the Apostles, who are saved from death by the moderate counsels of Gamaliel. In all these Peter is the only speaker, though in the healing of the lame man John is represented as his silent partner. The author, or the source from which he drew his information, seems to have known very little about this period and no hint is given what time is covered by these chapters. It has been noticed that some of these stories appear to be different versions of the same event. As is often his fate when using the Bible as a source-book, the historian has to pick his way in a dark country with very few landmarks to guide him.

From the days of the return from the captivity to the present, Jerusalem has had no attraction save as a religious centre. It is situated in a strong position, but in a sterile and inaccessible district. When the Jews had come back from exile, Nehemiah found it very hard to induce them to live there. (Neh. XI: 1-2.) As time went on, the Temple, with its great wealth and costly sacrifices, was an attraction to worshippers and a source of profit to the priests who formed the aristocracy. The city could never

become a great trading centre, and its extent allowed only a limited number of inhabitants within its walls. There were few industries, and the population was as a rule fanatically pious, turbulent, and unemployed. Almost every devout Israelite has prayed earnestly for its peace, hoped to end his life in Jerusalem, and shown his devotion by helping others to support themselves in the Holy City. The Christians and the Moslems in their turn have followed the example of these of the older faith.

According to Acts I: 4, the Lord had commanded His disciples not to leave Jerusalem; and under Peter they made it their headquarters. (1) The heads of the community were the Apostles, and at Peter's suggestion the number of the twelve witnesses of the Risen Lord was made up by the election by lot of Matthias in place of the traitor Judas (Acts I: 15 ff.).

(2) At the Feast of Weeks, or the Pentecost, fifty days after the Passover, the little Christian body assembled very early, probably in the Temple, to celebrate the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. Suddenly there came from heaven "a sound as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting." Tongues, as of fire, lighted on each of them and they all began "to speak with other tongues." Jerusalem was filled with strangers "from every nation under heaven" and each one seemed to understand what was being said in his own language (Acts II: 1-11). The story is symbolical rather than literal. The whole Jewish world was to hear and understand the Gospel of Christ. Peter instantly takes the lead and addresses the multitude

explaining the significance of this outpouring of God's Spirit.

The speech, though it may not record Peter's words and indeed is hardly applicable to the occasion of the miracle of the tongues as related, may well be a good example of primitive Christian preaching. It is really an exposition of three passages of scripture, Joel II: 28-32, Psalm XVI: 8-11, and Psalm CX: 1, as prophecies which have been fulfilled in Jesus. The extraordinary phenomena, the tongues of fire, the mighty thundering (voice); and the effect on the disciples is a sign of the last days when God will pour out of His spirit on all flesh, and give wonders and signs in heaven and earth. The end foretold in the Gospels is very near. This is a mark of primitive preaching. Jesus has approved Himself by wonders and signs; and now He has been crucified, as God had long ago determined. He has been raised from the dead. David foretold this when he said, "I set the Lord always before me . . . for thou shalt not leave my soul in the grave, nor let thy holy one see corruption." He could not have said it of himself because he died and was buried and his sepulchre is still in Jerusalem (Acts II: 29). He meant the Christ, Who was to ascend to heaven and pour forth the Spirit of God: David could not have meant himself when he said: "The Lord (Jehovah) said to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand." Jesus has risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, and poured forth the Spirit on His people. This proves Him to be Lord and Christ. (Acts II: 29-36.)

The people, deeply moved, ask Peter what they are to do. His reply is, Repent, be baptised, and

save yourselves from this perverse generation. Three thousand obey the Apostle and this marks the beginnings of the Christian brotherhood or Church.

(3) Another miraculous incident follows. Here Peter is accompanied by John, as he is later on another occasion. The presence of John is certainly a difficulty, because Peter is the only actor in either scene, and there is no mention of James, as we might expect, if the more prominent apostles were intended by the writer. The two heal a lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple: a crowd assembles in Solomon's Porch, to whom Peter makes an address, analogous, but not exactly similar, to that on Pentecost.

The lame man has been healed, not by any inherent virtue in Peter and John, but by the power of the Name of Jesus the Servant of God, and the Captain of life, whom the people had compelled Pilate to crucify. It is true they did it in ignorance, for God allowed the death of Jesus in fulfilment of prophecy. It is now time to repent, that times of refreshment may come and God may send Jesus back to restore all things, for He is the Prophet whom Moses foretold in Deuteronomy. The covenant with Abraham—"In thy seed all the nations of the world will be blessed"—belongs to repentant Israel, for whom God has raised Jesus from the dead, and sent Him to bless them *first* (a hint that Jesus will also be manifested to the Gentiles). (Acts III: 12-26.)

Peter and John are arrested by the Priests, the Captain of the Temple, and the Sadducees, and warned not to speak any more in the Name of Jesus. They return to the company of believers and glorify

God; the place where they are assembled is shaken and all are filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts IV: 23-31).

(4) As has been indicated, the brotherhood at Jerusalem consisted of a majority of poor people, who had to be supported if they were to continue to live in Jerusalem. From what we can gather from the speeches attributed to Peter an immediate appearance of the Messiah was expected, and the Holy City was to be the scene of His manifestation. Since these poor people had to be assisted, a new society was organized on a communistic basis not unknown in Judaism, as the ascetic sects of Essenes and Therapeutæ testify. The aid of rich foreigners was secured, the most notable of whom was Barnabas, a Levite of Cyprus, who sold an estate and gave it to the Apostles. In Barnabas we have the beginning of believers outside Palestine. (Acts IV: 36.) Another rich Jew—whence he came is not indicated—named Ananias, with his wife Sapphira, imitated Barnabas, but did not, as they professed, give all to the Apostles. Rebuked for their hypocrisy by Peter, first the man, and then his wife fell dead. (Acts V: 1 ff.). The record of this incident is hard to account for, as it must be admitted that Peter's words and action are not what we should expect of a disciple of Jesus. A suggestion may be hazarded that the object of the writer was to show the power of the Apostles to punish by sickness and even death, and also to show the danger of a half-hearted profession of belief. There is no reason to disbelieve that the stern words attributed to Peter could have resulted in the death of those to whom they were addressed;

but the story to modern ears is certainly painful and repulsive.

(5) The attitude of the priesthood at Jerusalem is interesting. The Apostles, credited with unlimited powers of healing the sick, were regarded as a class by themselves superior to all ordinary brethren. The very shadow of Peter was enough to heal those upon whom it fell. All the people of Jerusalem respected and honoured the believers in Jesus. (Acts V: 12 ff.) The priestly faction, which was unpopular for its rapacious severity, could do nothing to check the movement. The Apostles were threatened, imprisoned and even beaten, but the officials dare not proceed to extremities. (Acts V: 40.)

But it must be confessed that these chapters fail to enlighten us as to this obscure period. Peter is the only prominent personage, and his portrait is shadowy and conventional. He appears not as the loving and impulsive friend of Jesus but as a theologian, forcing texts of Scripture to prove His Messianic office. He does not appeal, as we might expect, to the character of Jesus as it is portrayed in the Gospel. He says nothing of His teaching, His compassion, His scorn of hypocrisy. In Peter's speeches the Risen Christ is to be accepted, not so much as an example, as a Saviour. Of course the astonishment caused by the Resurrection and Ascension may have resulted in this insistence of the Lordship of Jesus Christ; but the Peter of this section is a mouthpiece of ideas rather than a human being. Later, where the writer of Acts found himself on surer historical ground, the Peter of the Gospel story is revealed.

Peter now for a time disappears and a new ele-

ment is introduced. The believers from other parts of the world, who are called Hellenists, or Grecians, probably because they spoke Greek, have formed a circle of their own and complain that in the distribution of charity their widows are neglected. The Apostles—Peter is not named—appoint seven to see to their needs in order that they may attend to their proper business of prayer and the ministry of the word. The Seven, however, soon become preachers of a wider gospel. Stephen is so bold in his teaching that he becomes the first martyr; in the persecution which followed Philip leaves Jerusalem to evangelise the Samaritans. (Acts VIII: 5.) In a "city of the Samaritans" a man named Simon appears, whose miracles so astonish the people that he is called by them as "the power of God which is called Great." Simon, we are told, was converted and baptized, and continued with Philip. (Acts VIII: 13.)

Hearing "that Samaria had received the word of God," the Apostles sent Peter and John to them. They prayed for the new converts, who then received the Spirit "for as yet he had fallen on none of them only they had been baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus." (Acts VIII: 16.) When Simon saw that this gift could be conferred by the laying on of hands, he offered money for the privilege of being able to impart it. This moved Peter to an outburst of just indignation. "Thy money perish with thee because thou didst think the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast no part or lot in this matter, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God if perchance the thought of thine heart may

be forgiven thee. For I see that thou art in the gall of bitterness and a bond of iniquity." And Simon answered: "Pray ye for me to the Lord that none of these things ye have said come upon me." (Acts VIII: 20 ff.) In the famous Cambridge manuscript, the Codex Bezæ, there is a curious addition after the words of Simon, "who, weeping much, did not cease." [1]

Supposing this passage to be new to us, we might legitimately interpret it thus: In a Samaritan city Philip converted and baptised Simon, a famous wonder-worker. When Peter came with John and bestowed the gift of the Holy Spirit, Simon desired to buy the power to impart it to others. Peter sternly rebuked him for his presumption and the conscience-stricken Simon asked the prayers of the two Apostles.

But the tradition of the Church saw in Simon the most formidable champion of error. One may almost say that Simon Magus stands to Simon Peter, as Antichrist to Christ. The result of this must receive fuller treatment as this narrative proceeds.

Peter next appears at Lydda, where he heals a paralytic named Æneas; and is then summoned to Joppa, where he raises from the dead a woman, named Tabitha or Dorcas. He remains at Joppa with another Simon, a tanner who lived by the sea. (Acts IX: 31-41.)

A long and interesting passage in Acts (X: 1-XI: 18) describes the conversion of the centurion Cornelius. The author regards this event as the turning point in Peter's career. Hitherto the fol-

[1] Tertullian *De Anima, 34, frustra flevit.* See Foakes Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity,* vol. III, p. 81.

lowers of Christ had acted in the spirit of his injunction not to go in the way of the Gentiles (Matt. X: 5). At the most they had spread their doctrines among Hellenists, proselytes, and Samaritans. Peter broke through their circle, and brought the Gospel to the outer world.

The story of the conversion of Cornelius is of great interest, if only because it illustrates how momentous a step the carrying of the Gospel to the Gentiles appeared to be in the eyes of the author of Acts. Cornelius, a centurion of Cæsarea, was a devout worshipper of the God of Israel. He observed the Jewish hours of prayer, but was a Roman officer, not a Jew, nor even a proselyte. He is a proof that though a man might be a strict monotheist, and presumably use Jewish prayers, he was not regarded in any sense an Israelite, but was ranked with the Gentiles. As Cornelius was praying an angel told him to send for Peter, who at the same time had a dream of a great sheet let down from heaven full of living creatures, clean and unclean and was told to "Arise, kill and eat." Horrified at such a command, even from above, Peter exclaimed, "Not so, Lord, I have never eaten common or unclean food," meaning that never in his life had he had social intercourse with a Gentile. (Acts X: 14.) The Voice answered, "What God hath cleansed, call not thou common." Peter interpreted this to mean that he must throw aside all scruples, and accept the invitation of Cornelius to leave Joppa and go to Cæsarea. On his arrival he addressed the company of Gentiles who had assembled to greet him. Although obviously the author's composition, the speech of Peter differs

materially from those delivered at Jerusalem, and is well adapted to a Gentile audience.

He tells his hearers that God is no respecter of persons but that all workers of righteousness are accepted by Him. He reminds them how God sent His message (word) by Jesus Christ, after John had proclaimed his baptism. All know how God had anointed Jesus of Nazareth with a holy spirit and power, and how He had gone about as a benefactor to mankind, and a healer of those who were subject to the devil. So much was known in Galilee which lay close to Cæsarea. "But we," Peter adds, "are witnesses of what has happened in Galilee," and also of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the manifestation of Jesus, "not to all but to fore-appointed witnesses who had eaten and drank with Him after His Resurrection." (Acts X: 39-41.) The apostolic message is that God has made Jesus judge of living and dead, as the prophets have foretold, and that all who believe in Him shall receive forgiveness of sins in His Name. (Acts X: 42-43.)

The author of Acts could not have heard Peter's speech. He either composed it himself or found it in his source. But, under whatever conditions it has been preserved, it is a masterly representation of what must have been the early preaching about Jesus. It is well adapted to an audience of religious Gentiles in the neighborhood of Galilee. The effect produced was unexpected. The hearers were filled with the Spirit, and manifested His presence by speaking with tongues, using some strange utterances or sounds which were regarded as true evidences of inspiration. Thereupon Peter ordered them to be

baptized in the "Name of the Lord Jesus." (Acts X: 48.) [2] At their request the Apostle remained at Cæsarea, without doubt for the purpose of further instruction in "the Way," as the following of Jesus was generally known at this time.

When Peter reached Jerusalem, he found that his action had caused no little scandal, not because he had baptized the new converts, but for having joined in a meal with them. Those who criticised the Apostle are described as those of the circumcision (*οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς*), so that from the first there may have been two parties in the infant Church, those who were strict observers both of Law and Tradition, and those who copied Jesus Himself by "eating and drinking with publicans and sinners." (Mark II: 16.) Peter disarmed opposition by relating his vision, and the Church of Jerusalem realised that God had given the Gentiles "repentance unto life." (Acts XI: 1-18.)

It is evident that the object Luke had in recording the conversion is to show that it was Peter who first broke through the Jewish circle and extended the Faith to the Gentile world. From this moment, however, Peter ceases to be the prominent figure, and the centre of interest is transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch. It was reserved for a later time to decide on what conditions the Gentiles should join the Church; all that had been done was to admit the possibility that they should do so.

The next scene in which Peter appears is in the persecution at Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa I, a profligate but devoted Jew, who became the last native king of Judæa. This Herod executed James, the

[2] *Cf.* I Cor. I: 14-17, where Paul says he did not himself baptize.

brother of John, and "proceeded to take Peter also." (Acts XII: 1-3.) The Apostle was cast into prison and rescued by an angel, repaired to the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, and told the inmates to tell of his rescue to James, the brother of the Lord, who now appears as the head of the community at Jerusalem. (Acts XII: 17.) Then Peter, we are told, went to "another place," only once more to appear at Jerusalem, according to the Lucan narrative, which tells us no more of either him or the rest of the Twelve.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Peter, the Twelve and James

WHEN Peter, after being delivered from the prison in which Herod Agrippa had confined him, went as we have seen, to announce his liberation to the house of Mary, the mother of John surnamed Mark, he found a large assembly of believers at prayer and told them to inform "James and the brethren" that he had escaped. (Acts XII: 17.)

A great change had evidently taken place, for which the Acts of the Apostles makes no attempt to account. We hear no more of the Twelve who are said to have ruled the Church at its inception. Perhaps this is the reason for the widely prevalent legend that the Lord told them to remain for twelve years at Jerusalem; and, at the expiration of this period, they agreed to depart for the purpose of evangelising the world. James, who is now the head of the community, and is recognised as such by Peter, is called the "brother" of the Lord. Why the Twelve so abruptly disappeared is left unexplained; and tradition records their labours in remote parts of the habitable world, where they left few if any traces of their work. From this time to the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the believers in Jesus seem, as is observable in the early records of other faiths, to have been guided, at any rate in Jerusalem, by the family of the Founder.[1]

[1] Aaron and Miriam, and the tribe of Levi were the chief, if not always the most loyal, helpers of Moses. The same is true of the tribe and the relatives of Mahomet.

This church at Jerusalem, with James at its head, played a very important part in the history of Apostolic Christianity, of which we know but little. Yet conjectures from the material at our disposal may be of service in the attempt to understand a very obscure subject.

When Herod Agrippa died in A. D. 44, Jerusalem must have enjoyed as great a prosperity as it had ever known. The city had extended far beyond its original limits, as Herod's attempt to encompass its northern suburb of Bezetha with a wall abundantly testifies. The Temple, protected by the orderly government of the Romans, had become enormously rich, and was being completed at immense expense. Pilgrims from every quarter kept thronging to the Holy City. Not only Jews but Gentiles resorted thither, proud to make their offerings to the Temple. Even sovereign princes, like Izates and his mother Helena, were ready to accept Judaism. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX: 2.4.) The Christian community was probably numerous, and, if poor, received large gifts from converts in other lands. The feasts attracted every Jew, including the Apostle Paul. (Acts XIX: 21.) The believers in Jerusalem were probably numerous, and devoted to the observance of the Law. The most socially distinguished adherents of Jesus were taken from men of priestly birth, and from the influential sect of the Pharisees.

Pre-eminent in the new Society was James, the brother of the Lord, the head of his branch of the Davidic house, quite conceivably held in high honour throughout the City as the brother of one who was called "the Christ". Mary, the mother of Jesus, and

his other "brothers" with James must have been highly respected. As for James, if we can trust the Christian writer Hegesippus Eusebius (*H. E.* II: 23) and Josephus, who may have actually known him (*Antiq.* XX: 9-1), he was regarded as a model of piety. James was traditionally believed to have enjoyed priestly privileges—his dress, his demeanour, and his constant prayers distinguished him as an ascetic of exceptional sanctity.

An epistle, addressed to the Twelve Tribes of the Dispersion, bore at a very early date his name. Doubt has been thrown on its authenticity, partly because as a Greek composition it is conspicuous for its excellence among other writings of the New Testament. But this objection is not conclusive. James may have been, as Jesus possibly was, able to speak Greek as well as Aramaic, or the Epistle may have been issued with his authority by some Jewish man of letters who may have translated an epistle by James in Aramaic. Anyhow it is Jewish alike in tone and sentiment. The meeting place of the believers in Jesus is a synagogue (James II: 2); their rulers are elders, the general tone of the letter resembles that of the ancient prophets. Possibly it is opposed to the teaching attributed to Paul and his adherents. Anyhow it can be accepted as a noble specimen of Judaic, possibly original, Christianity.

With this party Peter, as is implied in the story of the conversion of Cornelius and of the criticism by "those of the circumcision," had partly dissevered himself. He had transferred his labours beyond the city walls, and probably beyond Palestine. That he had become an enterprising missionary seems certain.

But we have no direct evidence as to whether he went to Rome after his deliverance from Herod, and the question need not detain us at this point. Of Peter as a missionary the only facts we know are that he was accompanied by his wife, and supported by his converts, as also were "the brethren of the Lord." (I Cor. IX: 5.) Peter may have visited Corinth; (I Cor. I: 12) and, if the First Epistle of Peter is rightly assigned, or represents an early tradition concerning him, he had preached far and wide in the peninsula of Asia Minor. (I Peter I: 1.) But his labours were evidently chiefly directed to his own countrymen, though he had already opened a door of hope to the Gentiles. Of his attitude towards the Law we have no information, but we may infer that upon the whole he was anxious not in any way to offend the believers in Jerusalem, and particularly James. (Gal. II: 12.) Legend tells us that Peter was bishop of Antioch; and this is noteworthy because he is connected with the three earliest patriarchal Sees, with Rome, and Antioch, and, through his disciple John Mark, with Alexandria. This points to a widespread idea that ecclesiastical authority, as will be shown later, was throughout the world associated with the name of Peter. This may be due to the fact that he alone of the immediate companions of Jesus left a firm tradition of his Apostolic labours. Even this, however, is purely a matter for conjecture.

It is perhaps permissible here to give an outline of the preaching of Peter, taking as a basis the Gospel of Mark, which tradition assigns to his influence. This Gospel is certainly the most unadorned and the least theological of the four; and, allowing for pos-

sible later additions, in its original form was most likely a plain recital of the acts and words of Jesus. As is well known, one of the distinguishing features of this Gospel is the constant mention of details concerning Jesus, which the other evangelists considered needless to relate; and one reason for the value of Mark's Gospel is that it seems to embody the tradition of an actual eyewitness of the ministry of Jesus. But all the records we have of the Gospel preached by Peter, except the very early, but certainly apocryphal, *Preaching* (*κήρυγμα*) *of Peter*, represent him as speaking of Jesus, not so much as a revered but familiar Teacher, but as a mysterious Benefactor of mankind, Who, as the Apostle tells Cornelius, "went about conferring benefits (*εὐεργετῶν*) and healing those under the dominion of the devil." (Acts X: 38.)

From Mark's Gospel it would appear that the Petrine preaching was markedly eschatological. Witness the thirteenth chapter with its proclamation of coming woes and persecution, the destruction of the Temple, the great affliction, the appearance of the Son of Man on the clouds with power and great glory and the gathering together of God's chosen ones from the four quarters of the world. That our Lord could not have predicted the fall of Jerusalem, that the words put into his mouth are a prophecy after the event is a pure assumption: for it needed no supernatural power to recognise the inevitable destruction of the Jewish nation and religion as they then existed in Palestine.

The eschatology of Mark XIII is that of the ancient prophets from Amos onward, who almost in-

variably predict a great catastrophe followed by a deliverance of the faithful in Israel; and the question is whether at the time of the appearance of Jesus such a proclamation was likely to produce widespread unpopularity in the Jewish world. Two classes were certain to regard it with hostility, the "activists" and the priesthood. Of the opposition of the advocates of armed resistance to the Gentiles we have no definite knowledge at this time. As to the priests of Jerusalem we learn from every source that those in high authority opposed the preaching of Jesus from the very first, and that the persecution about Stephen was due to his repeating the words of Jesus about the destruction of the Temple. (Acts VI: 14.) But this would not necessarily make the prophets of the Messiah unpopular. If, as Peter and the rest were teaching, Jesus, whom the priests had caused to be crucified, was risen from the dead, it was a proof that He was the anointed of the Lord and that the hopes of Israel were likely to be fulfilled—if not in this world, in a new and a better one created for the benefit of God's elect. Provided the Law was not assailed, such a message would not be unacceptable; ever since the days of the prophet Micah there had been Israelites who regarded the pride, the wealth, the magnificence of Jerusalem and its Temple with disfavour. (Micah IV: 13.) Jesus had, it is true, provoked the enmity of the Pharisees and legalists of His day; but it is quite conceivable that those who preached Him as a Risen Lord did not at first lay so great stress as He had done on obeying the spirit rather than the letter of the Law.

Although the controversy between Jesus and the

Pharisees in Palestine has its place in the Marcan gospel, there is no reason to suppose that legalism was a prominent question in the earliest Christian preaching, which, as we might expect, would be rather occupied with the triumph of Jesus over death and the proclamation of Him as the Messiah who would shortly return. Possibly most of the Gentile converts of Peter and those who worked with him were, like Cornelius, already at least worshippers of the God of Israel, if not fully Jews. They were accustomed to a semi-Jewish form of life.

But this Judaic Christianity, however important it may have been before A. D. 70, proved transitory, and in the subsequent development of the Church is of archæological rather than of historical interest. All that may be inferred during this period of which there is no record is that such a following of Jesus probably did not encounter much hostility outside Palestine and was actually popular among the Jews of the Dispersion. It would appear that the faith in Jesus as Messiah spread rapidly and comparatively unmolested for some years, and that the Mother Church of Jerusalem had a certain influence over the growing communities. At any rate the foundations of a world-embracing Christianity were being silently laid by Peter, and presumably by the rest of the original Apostles. The scene, however, was soon to be transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch and another better known champion of the Faith was about to appear in the person of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Peter and Paul

THE names are inseparable and have been for many centuries. Within a few years of their death Clement of Rome and Ignatius couple them together. Not many decades later, Irenæus says that Peter and Paul committed the bishopric of Rome to Linus; and by the middle of the third century or a little later the feast of Peter and Paul began to be kept. In the Latin Mass, next to the Virgin Mary, Peter and Paul are commemorated, Paul being numbered among the Twelve Apostles. The Roman Church is that of St. Peter and St. Paul. Even in the remote parts of Asiatic Russia towns are named after Peter and Paul. Thus the unanimous voice of the Church in East and West has coupled the two Apostles together: but modern criticism has sought to prove that they were not fellow-workers but rivals. This must be first discussed with the guidance of the New Testament.

Without doubt a new element appeared in infant Christianity; but, though Paul took a prominent part in fostering it, it is by no means certain that he was the first to introduce it. The narrative of Acts implies that for a time Barnabas was the most considerable person outside the immediate followers of Jesus. (Acts IV: 36; IX: 27.) He first appears in Jerusalem as a native of Cyprus, and a rich and generous benefactor. It may be reasonably inferred

that, owing to him, Antioch and not Jerusalem became the centre of missionary activity. This city was the capital of the Roman East, the seat of an active commerce, and had once been a royal residence in the days of the great kings of the house of Seleucus. Commanding as it did the navigation of the eastern Mediterranean, it also lay at the gate of the rich and prosperous peninsula of Asia Minor, and the near East, at least as far as the dominions of Parthia. There was a large Jewish population, which had been there since its foundation by Seleucus Nicator at the beginning of the third century B. C. The Jewish King, Herod the Great, had contributed towards its adornment. How the community, which at Antioch were "first called Christians," arose, we do not know, but Barnabas seems to have been its leading member. (Acts XI: 22-30; XIII: 1.) He must have been qualified for work outside Palestine, not only because he was in easy circumstances; but, as a native of Cyprus, he must have spoken Greek from childhood, and have been accustomed to foreign travel. It can never be forgotten that Barnabas was, according to Acts, the first to recognise the great capacities of the Apostle Paul.

Since his conversion, Saul of Tarsus had passed some years in obscurity. He had, it is true, won some fame as a preacher to the Gentiles; but until he and Barnabas began to work together he had done nothing, so far as we know, to make any important conversions. However, three years after his conversion he tells us he went up to Jerusalem to "enquire" of Peter (ἱστορῆσαι). (Gal. I: 18.) Here we have, independent of Acts, which does not always

confirm Paul's statements in his Epistle to the Galatians, testimony that Peter in early days held the leadership of the brotherhood at Jerusalem. Paul, however, implies that these other members of the Twelve may not have been in the city acting as a council to direct the Church, as Acts had suggested. As he was only fifteen days in Jerusalem, it must be admitted that this argument from silence is precarious; still his words "other Apostle saw I not, except James the Lord's brother" seem to indicate that James was acting at least as an assessor to Peter. Paul more than once affirmed, and especially in this Epistle, that he received his Gospel not from the original Apostles, but from Jesus Himself; but for all this he may mean that his message was inspired by the Master, but that he desired to discover the exact facts of His life from Peter (or Cephas, as he calls him), as from the man best qualified to inform him.

The next mention of Peter in this Epistle is that of the visit to Jerusalem fourteen years later. This passage (Galatians II: 1-10), one of the most difficult in the New Testament, may be paraphrased as follows:

> Fourteen years later I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and we took Titus with us. I was told to go there by a revelation. Then I explained to the leaders the way I preached Christ to the Gentiles. I did this in private, lest the course I had pursued might prove to be wrong. But though there were false brethren who were opposed to the freedom we enjoy in Christ, the leaders did not insist on a Gentile like Titus being

circumcised. On the contrary they recognised that my gospel was for the Gentiles and Peter's and theirs for Jews, and that both were committed to us by God. On this understanding we came to an agreement, and the only thing they asked Barnabas and me to do was to remember the poor people in Jerusalem, "which," adds Paul, "I am always forward to do myself." (Gal. II: 10.)

Without entering upon all the difficulties in these verses, it is clear that Paul implies that what he preached was not altogether like Peter's Gospel. It is perhaps, however, legitimate to conjecture wherein the difference lay. The burning question was whether Gentile converts should be compelled or even advised to submit to circumcision. We learn from Josephus that a similar question with regard to converts agitated the missionaries of Judaism. Izates, the king of Adiabene, a district to the east of the Tigris, was persuaded by a Jewish merchant, called Ananias, of the truth of Israel's religion. At the same time his mother, Queen Helena, independently of her son, embraced Judaism. This was before Izates became a king, and on coming to the throne he wanted to be a real Jew by being circumcised. Helena represented to her son the imprudence of entertaining such an idea, and was seconded by Ananias, who had converted the king. But a very precise (ἀκριβής) Jew from Galilee named Eleazar came to Izates and told him that it was the height of impiety to read the Law and not to obey it. Izates therefore submitted to the rite and became a real Jew. Ananias had, on the contrary, argued that

the great thing was to practise the commands of the Law, for this is better than to be circumcised, and that God would pardon Izates if he neglected this precept from necessity. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX: 2.4.)

At the time of their interview with the leaders of the Church of Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas had told their Gentile converts that they need not be circumcised. Peter, working as he undoubtedly had been mainly among the Jews, encouraged his Gentile converts to join communities of believers who obeyed the Law. After hearing Paul plead his cause, the leaders at Jerusalem, "James, Cephas, and John," agreed to accept Paul as a teacher of the Gentiles; and a friendly compromise was agreed to. (Gal. II: 9.) Throughout his ministry, however, as recorded in Acts, Paul never omitted to approach the Jews before he attempted to address himself to the Gentiles.

We have now to turn to Acts XV for a similar, though possibly not identical, incident. Paul and Barnabas go up to Jerusalem after their first missionary journey. The discussion was long and was becoming embittered when Peter declared his opinion, reminding his audience that he had been the pioneer in preaching to the Gentiles. God had made no difference between them and the Jews but had cleansed their hearts by faith. It was tempting God to lay upon these converts the yoke which even Jews found intolerable, by forcing them to observe all the *minutiæ* of the Law and Tradition. This gave Barnabas and Paul the opportunity of telling the assembly what God had wrought by their hands among the Gentiles and how their preaching had been confirmed

by signs and wonders. The verdict was pronounced by James who said that the conversion of the Gentiles was in accordance with prophecy, and that they should be free of the Law, if in deference to their Jewish fellow converts they abstained from idolatry, fornication, strangled animals, and blood. Fortified by this decree, Paul and Barnabas went to Antioch accompanied by two Christian prophets from Jerusalem, Judas and Silas. (Acts XV: 20-29.)

We now may resume the narrative in Paul's letter to the Galatians. Peter went to Antioch and threw himself wholeheartedly into the work of uniting with the Gentile believers. Like Paul and Barnabas, he made no scruple in sharing their meals and living on terms of brotherhood with them. Then perhaps he felt he had gone too far and that it was advisable to temporise. It is evident that James was highly regarded in the early Church. His sanctity, the austerity of his life, his close relationship to the Christ, all contributed to the reverence in which he was held. And in addition, the strict Judaic Christians of Jerusalem with their "zeal" for the Law were very powerful. When James' friends arrived at Antioch, Peter deemed it wise to change his mode of life. Cautiously and gradually he withdrew from associating with the Gentile believers (ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτόν). This provoked the indignation of Paul who saw not only Peter but his own tried friend Barnabas deserting him. As Acts shows, Paul certainly regarded James with esteem and was anxious to stand well with the believers of Jerusalem; but when the Gentile rights were in question he openly rebuked Cephas. "You," he says, "have

abandoned the Jewish exclusiveness, and now you are, by your compromising attitude to the Gentiles, virtually forcing them to become Jews. You and I are both Jews and yet we know that the Gentiles as well as we are saved by our faith in Jesus, and not by observing the Law. Your whole conduct is inconsistent with your teaching." (Gal. II: 11-14.) What followed we do not and cannot know; however, we do know that Paul could, after a sharp dispute, part company with Barnabas, and yet speak of him in terms of respect. And, if Barnabas, why not also Peter?

The first to perceive that there was any serious difficulty involved in a dispute between two such honoured Apostles as Peter and Paul, was St. Jerome at the close of the fourth century. To us it may seem quite natural that good men should take a different attitude on a vexed question, and we may plead for Paul the excuse that he was contending for a great principle, and for Peter that he regarded Paul's unyielding attitude inexpedient under the circumstances. But when both were considered to be inspired and infallible, and the Church had coupled their names together as leaders in the first days of the Gospel, such reasoning was necessarily unsatisfactory. Accordingly Jerome hit on the strange expedient of declaring that the quarrel was not a real one at all. It was necessary to convince the world that the Gentiles should have free access to the Gospel. Peter therefore agreed with Paul that they should, so to speak, stage a dispute as a lesson for mankind and the Church. He decided to take one side, by supporting the Judaizers, and Paul was thus

able to declare himself on the question. Jerome gave out this opinion in Palestine, and Augustine in far-off Roman Africa heard of it. In a short correspondence which, owing to difficulties of communication, lasted for many years, Augustine pointed out that such an explanation of the dispute between the two Apostles was far more discreditable to their character than that one of them had fallen into error. Jerome was at first inclined to reply sharply to Augustine, who was younger and his inferior in point of learning, though his superior in almost every other respect, but finally a dispute was averted and these two great saints died at peace with one another perhaps because they never met on earth.[1]

For all we know from the New Testament, Peter and Paul never saw each other after parting at Antioch, nor do we hear of any rivalry between them personally from any Christian canonical or orthodox writing. That this rivalry existed, has been inferred and maintained with so much ingenuity and ability that it deserves most serious consideration. Here, however, we are concerned with the evidence of the New Testament alone.

Only in one other Epistle besides that to the Galatians does Paul allude to Peter, again under the name of Cephas. I Corinthians is certainly later than the meeting at Antioch, and, whether Peter ever visited their city or not, his name was very familiar to Paul's converts.

The Church of Corinth was divided into factions, each taking a particular leader as a party name. The

[1] The correspondence is to be found in Jerome's Letters; *cf.* 56, 67, 104, 110. Chrysostom had earlier suggested Jerome's view.

earliest preachers there were Paul and Apollos, as also we learn from Acts. Next believers arrived who declared that, as neither of these had known the Lord, the Gospel as preached by Peter was preferable. Finally, if one may hazard a conjecture, the Judaizers, who are represented in Galatians at Antioch as "from James" claimed to be the only true "Christians." (I Cor. I: 12.) But it should be borne in mind that in the First Epistle to Corinth there is not any hint of a controversy with Judaizers except what is implied here. Even Paul dealing with the vexed question of eating meats offered to idols, says nothing about the question of the observance of Jewish customs. We are therefore hardly justified in assuming that Cephas was a teacher more antagonistic to Paul than his friend Apollos, and there are indications later that Paul was on good terms with the Lord's brother as the head of the Church of Jerusalem. The Apostle casts no blame on his fellow-workers; but he does on those who made them leaders of factions.

The next passage to be discussed is in the Apostle's argument on the subject of eating food which might possibly have formed part of a sacrifice to heathen gods. Paul contends that an idol is nothing in the world and that, really, the matter is not serious. It is only so if it gives offence to the weaker brethren; then to eat indiscriminately of such food is a positive sin. He goes on to say that, as an Apostle who has seen the Lord Jesus, he has a perfect right to claim as much freedom as any of His followers. "Have we not," he asks, "as much right to take about with us a wife who is a believer, as the brethren of the

Lord and Cephas? Are Barnabas and I the only ones who are not to be allowed to work to support ourselves? . . . but I make use of neither of these privileges" (I Cor. IX: 5-6, 15). Two things here are noteworthy. One is that Cephas is placed after the brethren of the Lord, as he is after James in Galatians (Gal. II: 9); the other that, if James remained in Jerusalem, his brothers were itinerant missionaries, as were Peter, Barnabas and Paul. There is no hint of any rivalry here. What Paul insists upon, as he does elsewhere, is that he is resolved personally to be of no expense to his converts.

The third mention of Cephas is the enumeration of the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection (1) to Cephas, (2) to the Twelve, (3) to five hundred brethren at once, (4) to James, (5) to Paul himself. (I Cor. XV: 4-8.) What is worthy of attention here is that Paul particularly mentions—though the Gospels do not, except by implication in Luke XXIV: 34—that the Lord appeared to three individuals, Cephas, James and himself, the three prominent representatives of the Church at that particular time. In this sense each had a personal revelation of the Risen Master.[2]

The Jewish controversy, with its hints of a possibly personal dispute between Peter and Paul on that account, appears in II Corinthians X-XIII. Paul speaks with much vehemence,—indeed this section of the epistle is one of the finest pieces of rhetoric in all literature—but no one is named, and Paul appears to

[2] Cephas or Peter is mentioned first; in other words Paul regards him as the first "Christian" or the man who first knew that the Lord had risen.

be attacking, not men, whom the Church, and probably he himself held in honour, but some thoroughly unscrupulous opponents who were undermining his influence at Corinth. It is well nigh incredible that among those who are stigmatised as, "false apostles, crafty workers, who take the form of Apostles of Christ, and no wonder; for Satan takes the form of a bright angel, and we cannot be surprised if his servants can take the form of servants of righteousness" (II Cor. XI: 13-15) are included Peter and James.

One is bound to take into account the theories that have been advanced during the past seventy years as to the supposed antagonism of Peter and Paul, and several admissions have to be made before forming any opinion concerning them. For instance, there is no doubt whatever that Paul felt deeply the attempts made to discredit his authority and his right to free the Gentiles from obligatory Judaism in the name of those who had been familiar with Jesus on earth. It is certain from his Epistles that his enemies declared him to be no true apostle, but an innovator, who completely disregarded those who had, as he expresses it, "known Christ after the flesh" (II Corinthians V: 16). It is possible that he speaks of the original apostles sarcastically when he tells the Galatians that they "appeared" (δοκοῦντες) to be the only pillars of the Church, (Gal. II: 6) but were not so in reality; and assuredly he denies their right to dictate to him in matters on which he felt he had a revelation. But though Paul often wrote impetuously, smarting under a sense of personal injustice, as well as actuated by his earnest desire for the liberty

of his Gentile converts, he never brings Peter or James into the discussion, except in the Epistle to the Galatians; and the single incident of the affair at Antioch is too slight a foundation to build upon. Nor can the testimony of Acts, whatever its date or authorship, be ignored. Here, at any rate on one occasion, Paul shows a very conciliatory attitude towards James; and in Acts as well as in the Epistles he looks forward to visiting Jerusalem. (Acts XIX: 21-22; Rom. XV: 25.) In the Epistle to the Romans the silence regarding Peter is as marked as it is in Philippians; and, if the New Testament is to be our guide, Paul and Peter, after meeting at Antioch, worked quite independently, and never met again. The evidence for a divided Church under each of these rival Apostles must be discussed when we come to the Peter of legend.

EUXINE OR BLACK SEA
PROPONTIS
Nicomedia
Pr. BITHYNIA AND PONTUS
Amisus
Alexandria Troas
Ancyra
Pergamus
Thyatira
Magnesia
CAPPADOCIA
AEGEAN SEA
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
PHRYGIA
Caesarea
Ephesus
Tralles
R. Maander
Hierapolis
Laodicea
Colossae
Miletus
Pr. GALATIA
Pr. PAMPHYLIA
Perga
Pr. CILICIA
Antioch of Syria
Pr. CYPRUS
ASIA MINOR
To illustrate I Peter Acts II and the early Christian settlements of the province of ASIA

CHAPTER NINE

The Canonical Epistles of Peter

EVERY book of the New Testament as we have it has to be subjected to a twofold test. First, When was it accepted by the Church at large as authoritative Scripture? and second, Was it really written by the person to whom it was popularly attributed? We have to depend on external evidence in deciding the one, and on internal for the other.

In determining the right of a book to be acknowledged, it is necessary to discuss the evidence which is directly in its favour—namely, the testimonies that led to its acceptance as a sacred book, and afterwards, that which is indirect, or the use made of it by early Church and also by heretical writers.

So far as the attestation of early writers go, I Peter is in a very strong position. It must always be borne in mind that the New Testament writings were only slowly recognised as authoritative Scripture. The Bible of the earliest Christians was the Old Testament. As Christian writings began to be produced, a distinction had to be made between those which were in accordance with the belief of the Church, and those which introduced innovations or, in other words, between orthodox and heretical works. The next stage was to pronounce some accepted books of more value than the rest and as sacred and authoritative. The criterion for entry into this class, which soon ranked with the Old Testament, was that the book should be attributed to an Apostle, or to a companion of the Apostles. The first books to be recog-

nised as Christian Scriptures were the four Gospels, and almost at the same time the Epistles of Paul, and the First Epistles of Peter and John.

Though he flourished as late as the fourth century, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, is the most important authority. The special value of his testimony as to what books of our present New Testament were accepted as canonical Scripture is due to the fact that he lived through the Diocletian persecution when the Roman government was trying to destroy the Church by burning all its sacred books. The officials were ordered to force those in charge of the Christian churches to give up the Scriptures. To do so was to incur the guilt of the most serious apostasy, but frequently the Christian priests gave up heretical or non-sacred writings, which the police burned, and asked no further questions. The question must have arisen as to what book could be surrendered with impunity. To give up heretical gospels, acts, and the like must have been meritorious. To palm off venerated writings which did not attain the dignity of Scripture was probably a venial offence. But to allow the Gospels and the other holy books to be consumed was a well nigh unpardonable sin, and those guilty of this were called *traditores* or traitors. There were many works on the border land—"disputed (ἀντλεγόμενα)" as Eusebius calls them. We can thus judge that this historian can speak with authority when he gives his well known catalogue of Christian scriptures in the twenty-fifth chapter of his Third Book.

In the first class he places the four holy Gospels (τετραχύς = *quaternion*), after which comes the

book of the Acts of the Apostles. Then we must reckon the epistles of Paul, the current (*φερομένη*), the First Epistle of John, and in the same way we must accept as valid (*κυρωτέον*), the First Epistle of Peter. Lastly, but this is not quite settled (*εἰ φανείη* = if it appears so), there is the Revelation of John. (Euseb. *H. E.* III: 25. See also chs. 3 and 4.)

In the second class are James, Jude, II Peter, the so called Epistles II and III of John, which are disputed, though many recognise them. Eusebius follows the course indicated above and shows the use made of I Peter by the different writers with whose work he was acquainted.

The following passages in the Ecclesiastical History allude to I Peter:

Bk. III c.1., Origen (*died* 252) is quoted as telling of the labours of such of the Twelve Apostles as are known to tradition, and Peter is said to have laboured in the districts of Asia mentioned in this Epistle.

Bk. III, 3, sec. 2. The Epistle was accepted by all the ancient presbyters.

Bk. III, c. 39, sec. 6. Papias bishop of Hierapolis (c. 140) uses testimonies from I Peter and I John.

Bk. IV., c. 14, sec. 9—Polycarp, who was martyred in 156, in his letter to the Philippians does the same.

Bk. V, c. 8, sec. 7. Irenæus (c. 180) uses the first epistles of Peter and John.

Bk. VI, c. 25, sec. 8. I Peter has a place in the canon of Origen, and perhaps II Peter.

Far earlier than the History of Eusebius is the famous list of accepted Christian writings known as the Muratorian Fragment, so called because it was discovered by Muratori (1672-1752), who found it in 1698 among the Bobbio MSS. at Milan. Here I Peter may be recognised, though the text has to be amended to make this possible. The fragment is probably earlier than Irenæus.[1]

Enough has been said here to show that there is no question as to the reception of I Peter at a very early date. This however does not prove that it is a genuine work of the Apostle. To do this we must have recourse to the letter, and judge for ourselves whether it can possibly have emanated from the pen of Peter. There can be no doubt that the Church at large accepted it as genuine, but we have no evidence as to why it was recognised as such. All we can admit is that this early recognition is a presumption in favour of the Petrine authorship. In order to appreciate the arguments for and against the Epistle being Peter's it is necessary to see what it contains.

In the subscription at the end the writer sends the letter by a man named Silvanus with a salutation from "the Church (ἡ συνεκλεκτή) in Babylon, and Marcus my son." It is addressed to the "elect of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," that is to the chief provinces in Asia Minor.

The writer is "Peter an Apostle of Jesus Christ." His converts have been chosen according to the fore-

[1] As the text stands the *Apocalypse* of Peter is mentioned, but Zahn conjectures that the Epistle is really meant.

knowledge of God, sanctified by the Spirit, sprinkled with the blood of Jesus Christ. (I: 1-2.) They have been born anew to a living hope of an inheritance, reserved for them in heaven, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ. This will be revealed in the last time (I: 3-5). At present these believers are subjected to diverse trials, that their priceless faith may be tested as gold is in a furnace till the day of Jesus Christ, Whom they love, though they have never seen Him, and are reaping the salvation of their souls which is the end and object of their faith. The prophets tried to discover what it meant, when the Spirit of God foretold through them the sufferings of the Messiah and the glory which was to follow. These mysteries, which angels desired in vain to have even a brief glance at, have now been revealed (I: 6-12).

Now begins the practical part of the epistle, which, being addressed to a widely scattered flock, is really rather a treatise on morals than a letter. Gird up the loins of your understanding and wait in hope for the great revelation in Jesus Christ. Give up your old habits, for God has called you to be holy as He is holy. (Lev. XI: 44.) You have been redeemed by the blood of a stainless lamb. Love one another unfeignedly. You have been born again of an incorruptible seed. As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word. Be built up into a spiritual house and an holy priesthood, that you may offer spiritual sacrifices to God. You are the chosen race, the holy nation, a people for God's own possession, all that Israel of old was meant to be. Once you were not a people at all, unpitied by God.

Now you are God's own people and have obtained mercy. (I: 13, II: 10. See also Hosea I: 9.)

There follow exhortations to behave well in the sight of the Gentiles, who now abuse and speak evil of the believers. This will bring them to a better mind. (II: 11-12.)

All followers of Christ should be good citizens. They should fear God and honour the emperor. (II: 13-17.)

If slaves they should be obedient even to harsh masters, and think how Christ suffered and left us an example of patience.

If wives, they are to be obedient to their husbands, who, if unbelievers, may be won over if they see the virtuous and modest lives of these women. They have now become true Israelites, daughters of Sarah.

As husbands, believers should be forbearing and mindful of their wives' weakness. All are to show the virtues of patience, forbearance, brotherly love and then no man can do them harm. (III: 7-17.)

There is a passage, more mysterious than any other part of this practical letter, which has been a fertile subject of Christian speculation. It finds expression in the Apostles' Creed in the words "He descended into hell." The words are these:

> Because Christ died once for sin, a righteous one for the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God. He was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the Spirit. In which he announced himself to the spirits in prison, who were disobedient once, when God's long suffering was waiting in the days of Noah whilst the ark was

being prepared in which a few escaped, namely eight persons, by water. Which water as an antitype now saves us, not the putting away of fleshly defilement, but the interrogation (ἐπερώτημα) of a good conscience to God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is on the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers having been subjected unto him. (I Peter III: 18-22.)

The practical note is once more struck in the admonition to abandon the life of the Gentiles, who are amazed because the believers no longer follow its abominations; but these shall give account in the day of judgment. Then resuming the old theme the epistle adds:

"For this reason the Gospel was preached to the dead, that in the flesh they should be judged as men, but that in the spirit they should live according to God." (IV: 6.)

The meaning of the rest of the Epistle is sufficiently plain. "The end is near: be sober and prayerful; but above all have love, for Love covereth many sins." Do not think your fiery trial strange: you are sharing Christ's sufferings. But be careful that none of you are convicted of real crimes, but if thou sufferest "as a Christian," rejoice. The rulers of the Church are admonished by the writer, who is a fellow elder, and himself a witness of the suffering of Christ, to feed the flock of God freely and with no desire for gain. If they do so, the Chief Shepherd at his appearing will reward them with an unfading

crown of glory. The younger are to obey their elders. All are to watch, the devil is seeking to devour them and they must resist him, remaining steadfast in the faith. (I Peter V: 1-9.)

There is, it must be owned, nothing very striking or remarkable in this brief epistle. Its spirit is excellent: it is full of good sense and homely advice. Only one short passage is really difficult or obscure. Above all I Peter cannot be called original; parallels to its language abound in the epistles of St. Paul, and in the rest of the New Testament. In a brief discussion a few points only can be dwelt upon. (I) Under what circumstances was it written? (II) To whom is it addressed? (III) Is it attributable to St. Peter?

I. A persecution furious and very widespread had broken throughout Asia Minor. It was not like the riots we read of in the Acts, where the preachers of the Gospel were attacked and accused before magistrates, nor was it like the persecution to which the "Hebrews" were exposed, when they were despoiled of their goods. (Heb. X: 34.) It was a systematic persecution, not of the mob, nor of the society, Jewish or Gentile, in which the Christians lived, but of the government. When they suffered it was to the death. They were to lay down their lives as to a faithful Creator. (IV: 19.) The persecution is described as a fiery trial (IV: 12) which has come as a surprise. It has been so sudden and so fierce that it must be a sign that the great tribulation, which is to usher in the end of the world, is at hand. The judgment must begin in the house of God. (IV: 17.)

The devil is abroad seeking whom he may devour. (V: 8.)

The injunctions to obey the law, and to be loyal to the Emperor (II:13-17) do not appear to have the same object as the advice of Paul to the Romans. (XIII: 1-4.) This is somewhat general, but I Peter is more particular. No one is to suffer as a murderer or a thief or a malefactor or as a meddler (ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος). (IV: 15.) An explanation of this may be that those suspected of being Christians had often to retire from the haunts of men and live among the hills and caves. Such might easily be driven by desperation to become robbers, and to avenge themselves on society. Every man lived in fear of being judicially condemned to death as a Christian, this being the only place in the New Testament where believers are so called by one of themselves. There is no hint that the Jews were responsible for this state of things. It is the heathen who are astonished at the lives the followers of Christ are leading. (IV: 4.)

The inference is that there was a persecution raging throughout the peninsula of Asia Minor of which we have no record save in this epistle, and that was directed by Roman officials with unprecedented fury, probably well before the close of the first century.

II. Peter in the Epistle to the Galatians is said to have been given a mission to Jews whilst Paul was sent to the Gentiles. (Gal. II: 9.) To whom therefore is the Epistle which bears Peter's name addressed? On the day of Pentecost the Jews who were present at Jerusalem from Asia Minor came from Pontus and Asia, Cappadocia, Phrygia and

Pamphylia. (Acts II: 9-10.) Thus, of the five districts here mentioned, three are found in I Peter; and it is possible that by Phrygia, which was included in the Roman province, Peter means Galatia.

Of Pontus in early Christian history little is told us; but Paul's friend and colleague Aquila, with his wife Priscilla, are described as Jews of Pontus. In the days of the missionary activity of Peter and Paul it was not even a Roman province—having been incorporated with the empire on the abdication of its last King Polemo II, who had married Herod Agrippa I's daughter, Berenice. To secure her he had professed Judaism, which he repudiated when the marriage had been dissolved. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX: 7.3.) Thus Jews may well have been fairly numerous in Pontus, though strictly speaking the district contained few important cities. The name may, however, have been applied to a wider area in Acts II and have included Bithynia the scene of one of the earliest persecutions outside Rome on record. Of Christianity in Cappadocia in early days nothing is recorded. In the Roman province of Asia it flourished at a very early date, and Galatia, Northern or Southern, was, of course, the scene of the preaching of St. Paul.

The letter is sent by Silvanus a brother in whom the writer has confidence. "She who is elect" in Babylon, and "Marcus my son" send salutation. (I Peter V: 12-13.) It is generally agreed by commentators of all ages that Babylon is a mystic name for Rome.

III. Whether Peter was actually the author of the Epistle is here comparatively unimportant. The

question is whether any tradition except that of this Epistle connects him with any other Babylon. In Christian apocalyptic language, Babylon probably means Rome, as does Edom in Jewish literature.[2] By the close of the second century everybody believed that Peter went to Rome, and therefore Clement of Alexandria naturally thought the epistle was sent from the imperial city, and the inhabitants of Asia Minor would easily understand that when Peter says Babylon he means Rome. To deny this is virtually to oppose the unanimous testimony of the Christian Church.

But, on the other hand, there is no tradition whatever of Peter's movements after the Council of Jerusalem (Acts XV); and, if, as is stated in Galatians, Peter and Paul agreed to go the one to the Gentiles, and the other to the Jews, then Peter may well have gone eastward whilst Paul journeyed to the West. There was a large Jewish population in Mesopotamia, and it was a splendid field for missionary enterprise. Mark, it is true, is recorded to have gone with Barnabas to Cyprus, but he might easily have crossed later to Syria, joined Peter, and accompanied him to Babylon. That once famous city had indeed fallen from its high estate; but in the first century it was still inhabited; and Josephus relates that there was a considerable colony of Jews in the half desolate capital of Nebuchadnezzar. (*Antiq.* XVIII: 9.8; XV: 2.2.) But it has been

[2] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers,* part I, vol. II, p. 491, says that Babylon was the name for Rome; but he only gives one example from the Sibylline Oracles (V. 158). Strack-Billerbeck, vol. III, p. 816, give the same reference. I can find no satisfactory Rabbinic Evidence.

often noticed that the order of the nations to which the letter was sent was from East to West, which would be natural if its source was Babylon or its vicinity.

There is, however, a third possible solution, which few accept. In Egypt in the first century there was a very important military station near the modern Cairo called Babylon. Is it possible that this was Peter's place of residence? It would explain the early tradition that Mark was appointed bishop of Alexandria.

The identity of this Babylon can never be fully determined, but one may legitimately wonder whether the Epistle indicates that an eastern mission of Peter and Mark, possibly accompanied by the Apostle's wife (ἡ συνεκλεκτή), actually took place.

It is very difficult to accept I Peter as actually emanating from the Apostle because of the character of the persecution described as taking place in Asia at so early a date, *i.e.*, a persecution of more or less Judaic Christians, carried on by the Gentiles under form of Roman law. This would seem to us more probable early in the second century, when the famous correspondence between Pliny and Trajan took place. Still it must be remembered that our ignorance of what happened in the early days of Christianity is so profound, that it is impossible to declare dogmatically that nothing of the kind occurred in the apostolic period. Far more important is it to arrive at some conclusion whether I Peter is, as is often declared, a mere cento of Pauline phrases, or a genuine production of the school of Peter. On this the

relationship between the two apostles largely depends.

The purpose of the epistle is hortatory rather than doctrinal. It is designed to encourage the readers to persevere in the faith amid trials which are due, not to Jewish, but Gentile animosity. There is not so much as a hint of a controversy as to the observance of the Law. The persecutors are amazed that the Christians are not still continuing to practise those excesses which the heathen regarded as natural. (I Peter IV: 4.) There are many expressions which are like those used by Paul, and one has to admit that the language is far more his than that adopted in the Pastoral Epistles which bear his name. There are doctrinal expressions resembling the teaching of Paul, and the moral exhortations find parallels in his later epistles. Yet there are signs that this epistle possesses an originality of its own. The pathetic description of the sufferings of Christ, the advice to husbands and wives, the mysterious allusion to the spirits in prison and the proclamation of the crucified Christ to them, are characteristic of an independent writer.

That Peter could have written the letter is hard to believe. The author is not the Peter of the Gospels and hardly the Peter of Acts. Yet it is as difficult to account for the early reception of I Peter and its general attribution to the Apostle, if it was not considered as representing his doctrine, as it is to imagine that it is by a disciple of Paul, if his school and that of Peter were in opposition.

On the whole it seems safest to assume that there was a Christianity common to both apostles, and that

this was accepted at an early date by the Christian Church. Our ignorance of the circumstances prevents any undue dogmatism on this point.

But the chief interest in this epistle, together with that of James and parts of the teaching of Paul, is that it reveals the efforts made to create a Christian moral code especially among Gentile converts. Sins are mentioned, but even more stress is laid upon the virtues of brotherly love, innocence, mutual forbearance, humility and the like, the object being to build up a Christian character. The text books are those of the ancient books of wisdom, especially Proverbs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus. The virtues inculcated could not appear on the surface of the history of Christianity, nor are they later insisted upon as earnestly as in the New Testament; but this homely and amiable side of the new religion without doubt did more to commend it and increase its influence than anything else. That Peter was regarded as the leading exponent of this new ethic, the publication of the First Epistle in his name is a striking proof.

Even in the early Church the Second Epistle was acknowledged with much hesitation, and, though early known, found its way with difficulty into the Canon of the New Testament. It bears a marked resemblance to a letter attributed to Jude, the brother of James. Both of these are of less value than the rest of the New Testament, and were later additions to it. Yet the fact that they were received by the Church makes them of importance, especially in view of the rejection of writings under the name of Peter

—writings which the Church rejected despite their popularity.

The Second Epistle of Peter is addressed to Christians generally and not to any particular church or group of churches, and claims to be written by Simeon Peter, as the Apostle is called by James in Acts XV, using the Jewish form of the name. It does not, like I Peter, refer to any particular circumstances, but to heresy generally. The readers are exhorted to make their advance in spiritual grace, and seven virtues are enumerated as the fruits of faith, Virtue, Knowledge, Self-Endurance, Patience, Piety, Brotherly Love, Charity. These will bring us to the everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (II Peter 1: 3-11), and make our calling and election sure.

The Apostle looks to his speedy departure from this world, and gives his last message to his disciples: for he did not follow "cunningly devised myths" but made known the majesty of Jesus Christ of which he himself was a witness on the Mount of the Transfiguration (I: 12 ff.).

The second chapter is a description of the false teachers and prophets who are leading men astray. Their destruction is at hand. For as God spared not the old world at the Flood, and cast the rebellious angels into hell, and burned Sodom and Gomorrah, so will he punish these wicked men, whose heresy, couched in fine words, is not so much speculative as moral, because it tends to lawlessness and lasciviousness.

This is his second letter (III: 1). There are many who say that Christ will never return, for ever since

the fathers fell asleep they see all things going on as they had been since the Creation. But the Lord is coming: He is only delaying the judgment out of mercy to sinners (III: 9). When He does come heaven and earth and the planets (elements) will melt away and a new heaven and new earth will be created. (III: 10-13.)

"Our beloved brother Paul," the writer goes on to say, tells us of these things in all his epistles, in which there are many difficult passages which men of unstable mind wrest as they do other Scriptures to their own damnation. (III: 15-16.) The letter ends with an exhortation to steadfastness, and to grow in grace and the knowledge of the truth.

Critics, not only to-day but in every age, have felt the difficulty of declaring this to be the genuine work of Peter, the Apostle. How it came to be attributed to him is a different question. Probably a second epistle was composed as supplementary to I Peter, to show that the Apostle was not only the pastor, as he appears in the first letter, but the great opponent of the antinomian gnosticism, which was an even greater peril in the second century to the Church than persecution by the Roman government.

CHAPTER TEN

Peter in the New Testament

At the risk of some repetition it seems advisable to gather all that is said of Peter in the New Testament into a short chapter to assist the judgment of the reader concerning the information we actually possess.

In order to do this it seems advisable to arrange the material in tabular form taking first the allusions to Peter in the Synoptic Gospels, thus:

I. PETER IN THE SYNOPTIC TRADITION

	Mark	*Matthew*	*Luke*
(a)	I:16 Jesus calls Simon and Andrew.	IV:18 The same.	V:4 The draught of fishes. Andrew omitted. The words "Thou shalt catch men" to Peter.
(b)	I:29 Jesus enters house of Simon and Andrew. Heals Simon's wife's mother.	VIII:14 After the Sermon on the Mount. Andrew omitted.	IV:30 Before the call of Simon. Andrew omitted.
(c)	III:16 Simon, surnamed Peter, in list of the Twelve.	XVI:17 Simon called Peter when he confessed Jesus to be the Christ.	No explanation of the name Peter.
(d)	V:37 Jairus' daughter, Peter, James and John, the brother of James.	No mention of Peter, James, and John.	VIII:51 As in Mark.

	Mark	*Matthew*	*Luke*
(e)	Omitted.	XIV: 28 Peter tries to come to Jesus, when walking on the water.	Omitted.
(f)	VIII: 27-34 Peter's confession and his rebuke by Jesus.	XVI: 13-16; 20-23 Virtually as Mark. 17-29 Peter called the Rock.	IX: 18-22 As in Mark and Matt., but Peter not rebuked.
(g)	IX: 2-8 The Transfiguration. Peter, James and John. Peter is spokesman.	XVII: 1 Much as in Mark.	IX: 28-36 As Mark and Matthew. As in Mark Peter did not know what he said.
(h)	Omitted.	Omitted. XVIII: 21 Peter asks how often an offending brother is to be forgiven.	XII: 41 Peter asks if Jesus is speaking to all.
(i)	X: 28 Peter says we have left all.	As in Mark.	As in Mark and Matt.
(j)	Omitted.	Matt. XVII: 24 Peter and the Temple money.	Omitted.
(k)	XI: 21 The Fig Tree. Peter speaks.	XXI: 19 The disciples speak.	Omitted.
(l)	XIII: 1 ff. Destruction of temple foretold to Peter, James, John and Andrew.	These are not mentioned.	As in Matthew.
(m)	XIV: 9 Peter's denial foretold on way to Mt. of Olives.	XXVI: 31 As in Mark.	XXII: 31-34 Denial foretold at the Supper. "Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you, &c."
(n)	XIV: 33 (Gethsemane) Peter, James and John.	XXVI: 37 Peter and the two sons of Zebedee.	XXII: 39 No mention of the three disciples.

	Mark	*Matthew*	*Luke*
(o)	XIV:37 Jesus asks Peter: "Simon, why sleepest thou."	XXVI:40 As in Mark.	XXII:45 The disciples addressed, not Simon specially.
(p)	XIV:54 Peter follows Jesus.	XXVI:58 As in Mark.	XXII:54 The same.
(q)	XIV:66 The denial.	XXVI:69 Details vary.	XXII:55 Details vary.
(r)	(After the Crucifixion) No mention of Peter.	No mention of Peter.	XXIV:12 Peter runs to the sepulchre. Not in the Western text.
			XXIV:34 "The Lord is risen and hath appeared unto Simon."

The above table shows that the three first evangelists had a common source and none had much more information than the others. It will be noticed that Matthew differs very slightly from Mark; in (b) by not placing the healing of Simon's wife's mother in connection with his call, but later in a group of miracles after the Sermon on the Mount; in (c) by connecting the name of Peter "the rock," not with the choice of the apostles but with the question "Whom say ye that I am?" In (d) by omitting the fact that Jesus took Peter, James and John when he healed Jairus' daughter; in (i) by not making Peter, but the disciples ask about the fig-tree. It is obvious that these variations are comparatively unimportant except (c) where John practically follows Mark (John 1:42), making Jesus name Simon, Cephas, the Aramaic for Peter, when He called him.

The differences in the Gospel of Luke are more remarkable. Peter is not apparently so important

to this evangelist as he is to the others. That he used Mark's Gospel is fairly certain; and in (d), at any rate, he follows Mark when Matthew does not. Still he omits in (a) the mention of Andrew; in (c) he does not relate the giving Simon the name of Peter, which however Mark does not explain. In addition Luke omits the Lord's rebuke to Peter in (f), the story of the fig tree in (k), and gives in (m) the protestation that Peter will never deny his Master, in a different setting. But Luke does hint at the appearance of the risen Lord to Simon. A study of the table reveals how little knowledge we possess, and the uniformity and also the paucity of the tradition accepted by the writers of the earliest Gospels. Of the questions of Peter in (h) Luke XII: 41 is peculiar to Luke, in Matt. XVIII: 21 to Matthew.

The next thing to be considered is how Peter is alluded to in the Gospel according to St. John, which is unanimously admitted to be later than the Synoptics and may possibly in places represent an independent tradition.

II. PETER IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

	Comments
I: 40 Andrew, a disciple of the Baptist brings Simon Peter his brother to Jesus saying: "We have found the Messias."	In the synoptists none of the disciples before their call were connected with the Baptist, nor did they come to Jesus as to the Christ.
I: 43 Jesus greets Simon, son of Jonas, as Cephas, which is Peter.	Notice the different occasions on which Simon was called Peter.
VI: 68 Many are offended by Jesus' claim to be the true bread. Simon Peter says: "Lord,	This saying of Peter's is characteristic, yet peculiar to the Gospel. Peter's confession is:

	Comments
to whom shall we go?" He then confesses his belief in the Christ. Jesus says that one of the Twelve will be his accuser (διάβολος).	"We are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." The same as in Matthew XVI: 16.
XIII: 4-9 Jesus washes the disciples' feet. Simon Peter refuses and then asks, "Not my feet only," &c.	Peculiar to John but characteristic of Peter.
XIII: 23 Peter asks the "disciple whom Jesus loved" to enquire who would betray Jesus.	Peter's connexion with this other disciple is noteworthy. *Cf.* "Peter and John in Acts III and VIII."
XIII: 36 Simon Peter asks: "Lord, whither goest thou?"	
XIII: 38 Peter's denial foretold.	
XVIII: 10 Simon cuts off the ear of Malchus, the High Priest's servant.	Peter's doing this is peculiar to John's account. It is characteristic of the Apostle.
XVIII: 15 Simon Peter follows Jesus after His arrest with the other disciple.	
XVIII: 15-18 and 25-28 The Denial.	
XX: 3-8 Mary Magdalene tells Peter and the other disciples the Lord's body is not in the tomb. They run together to the Sepulchre.	
XXI. The draught of fishes. The commission, "Feed my sheep." The death of Peter foretold after he has enquired about the disciple "Whom Jesus loved."	This chapter is a supplement of the Gospel but the Peter here is the Peter of the entire Gospel story.

This comparative method may be tedious; without it, however, it is impossible to understand the char-

acter of tradition, for, until we have the facts before us—or better still, have collected them for ourselves—, it is impossible to appreciate it. The Fourth Gospel gives a different tradition from that recorded in the Synoptists, but every trait in the Peter of John is displayed in the Peter of the others. We may notice that John very rarely speaks of "Peter," but almost invariably calls him "Simon Peter." Jesus never calls him Peter, but usually "Simon, son of Jona." In this he agrees with Matthew XVI. In John, notably in the additional chapter XXI, Peter plays an important part after the Resurrection, whereas in the earlier gospels he is not mentioned except in Luke's allusion to an appearance of Christ to Simon. In marked contrast to Matthew, who connects the promise to Peter with the Transfiguration, John places the commission, "Feed my sheep" after the Resurrection. Yet John—if the latest Gospel—supplies an indication that in Christian imagination the importance of Peter was constantly on the increase. This writer always closely connects Peter with himself—that is, "the disciple whom Jesus loved," "the disciple who wrote these things"—and professes to know from the inside the significance of the work and teaching of Jesus. Peter, as we learn from John XXI: 18, had been long dead; and it is implied he had been crucified. The writer of the Gospel, whether John the Son of Zebedee or not, had long survived Peter, and must have been living at least a generation after. Thus, when the Fourth Gospel was written Peter already was evidently honoured above all other followers of the Master.

What is often asserted and has been maintained here is that Peter is the only Apostle who plays an active part in the ministry of Jesus on earth. Consequently it is desirable to place before the reader the notices of other Apostles in the Gospel narrative. These are most numerous in the Fourth Gospel.

III. NOTICES OF THE TWELVE BESIDES PETER IN THE GOSPELS

James the Son of Zebedee John, his brother	The sons of Zebedee, only once mentioned in the Fourth Gospel, were called after Simon and Andrew (Mark I: 19, Matt. IV: 21). They, or their mother, asked for a special place in the Kingdom. (Matt. XX: 20, Mark X: 35, Luke V: 10.) Ask Jesus to call fire from heaven on the Samaritans (Luke IX: 54). With Jesus on three special occasions. Jairus' daughter, the Transfiguration, and the Agony. On one occasion only (Mark IX: 38) does John speak independently.
Andrew	Mentioned three times in the Fourth Gospel: (1) As a disciple of the Baptist (I: 40), (2) When Jesus fed the multitude (VI: 8), (3) With Philip, when the Greeks wished to see Jesus (XII: 21). Also in Mark I: 16; XIII: 3.
Philip	Described in John I: 44 as "of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter." Andrew and Peter bring Nathaniel to Jesus (I: 45). The Greeks approach him. (XII: 21.) Philip asks Jesus at the Supper: "Lord, show us the Father" (XIV: 8).
Bartholomew	Not a name but a patronymic—son of Ptolemy. Has been identified with the Nathaniel of John I: 45; XXI: 2.
Matthew	So called in Mark's list of the Twelve, III: 10; but Mark and Luke also tell of the call of "Levi the publican, the son of Alphæus (I: 1)." Matthew relates the same story of the call of Matthew the publican (Matt. IX: 9, Mark II: 14, Luke V: 27).

Thomas	John gives the name with its Greek equivalent Didymus—Twin. Thomas is ready to die with Jesus (XI: 16). Doubts the Resurrection (XX: 24-27). At the sea of Tiberias (XXI: 2).
James the Son of Alphæus	Unless he is the Lord's brother, nothing is recorded of this James.
Thaddæus	Called Lebbæus in Matthew, and Jude, the brother of James, in Luke and Acts. Nothing is related in the Gospels of him.
Simon the Canaanite	So also Matthew, but in Luke called Zelotes. Canaanite should be Cananite or Zelot. Nothing is related in the Gospels of him.

From the fact recorded that the *ten* disciples, which must include Peter, were offended by the presumption of James and John in asking for the place of honour in the kingdom of Messiah, it is possible that these were by some considered as the leaders of the Twelve. Herod Agrippa may have begun his persecution by killing James as the chief of the followers of Jesus. The fact that John is called the "brother of James," appears to indicate that he was the less important of the two. In Acts, John, when associated with Peter, certainly plays a silent part.

Andrew, Philip, and Bartholomew only appear individually in the Fourth Gospel, that is of course if Bartholomew equals Nathaniel. In the spurious Acts of the Apostles, these appear as mythical personages, it is true, but nevertheless in such a way as to show that they have made some impression on a later generation.

That to Matthew is assigned by tradition the First Gospel is a proof that he was highly regarded. His call by the Master is the only personal one related by

the Synoptists with the exception of that of Andrew and Peter, James and John.

Of the other three nothing whatever is known. That James the son of Alphæus, *i.e.*, "the Lord's brother" is a conjecture—and not an unprejudiced one—of Jerome in the fourth or fifth century.

We learn nothing of the activities of the Twelve from Acts. Except Peter, the first preachers were Stephen, Philip, and Barnabas—all of whom were outside that body. John's story belongs to a later tradition.

From what sources the author of Acts derived his information regarding the primitive Christian community at Jerusalem it is impossible definitely to decide; yet it is evident that he used very ancient material. As the view is widely accepted that he carefully balances all he records of Peter with what was done by Paul in order to show that both Apostles were equally favoured by Heaven and honoured in the Church, another table is necessary before we pronounce an opinion on this.

IV. PETER IN ACTS I-XII

	Parallels in Story of Paul
I: 15—Peter takes the lead in the appointment of a twelfth apostle.	
II: 14—Peter stands up with the Eleven on the day of Pentecost and explains the miracle of the tongues of fire.	
III: 1—Peter and John heal the lame man in the Temple and are arrested by the priests.	XIV: 8—Paul and Barnabas heal the impotent man at Lystra.

	Parallels in Story of St. Paul
III: 12—Peter and John address the priests.	
IV: 8—Peter declares that the lame man was cured by the name of Jesus.	
IV: 19—Peter and John refuse to obey the priest's injunction not to proclaim Jesus.	
V: 1—Peter rebukes Ananias and Sapphira.	
V: 15—The sick are placed in the streets that Peter's shadow might fall on them.	XIX: 12—Handkerchiefs and aprons which had touched Paul heal the sick at Ephesus.
V: 17—The apostles arrested: but Peter is not specially named except as spokesman before the Council (VIII: 27).	
VIII: 14—Peter and John are sent to Samaria. Peter rebukes Simon Magus.	XIII: 10—Paul rebukes the sorcerer Elymas at Paphos in Cyprus.
IX: 32—Peter at Lydda heals Æneas, a paralytic.	
IX: 36—Peter raises Dorcas at Joppa.	XX: 9—Paul raises Eutychus.
X-XI: 18—Conversion of Cornelius.	XIII: 7—Paul converts Sergius Paulus.
XII: 5-18—Peter imprisoned and released, goes to Mary's house. Sends a message to James and the brethren and goes to another place.	XVI: 25—Paul and Silas released from prison at Philippi.

One is very apt to assume that the first twelve chapters of Acts give a vivid picture of Peter's activity as the leader of the Apostles. The above

analyses will enable the reader to judge how much information we actually possess. There are in Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament, 1027 lines in the first twelve chapters of Acts: of those 622 relate what was done and said by Peter, including 197 devoted to the single episode of the conversion of Cornelius. That Peter is the spokesman of the Twelve and takes the lead on every occasion is unquestionable; but except in the story of Cornelius, he does not appear as a man with marked characteristics of his own, as he does in the four Gospels. Rarely is the impetuous Peter of the evangelical story revealed. But at Joppa, in the house of Simon the Tanner, we recognise the impulsive disciple in Peter's answer to the heavenly command, "Arise, Peter, kill and eat." "Not so, Lord, for I never ate anything common or unclean." Again, on seeing that, while he was speaking, Cornelius and his friends received the gift of tongues, Peter impulsively explains, "Can any one forbid the water that these should not be baptised, who have received the Holy Spirit, as we have?" Lastly we recognise the Peter of the Gospels when he defended himself for his action to the circumcision party by his question, "Who was I that I should withstand God?" But all these utterances belong to one single incident. Elsewhere on the day of Pentecost, Peter speaks in the name of the Eleven; in his speech after the healing of the lame man in conjunction with John; in the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira he acts as a judge. It is difficult to believe that a writer, so skilful in delineating character as St. Luke, unless he made use of some source, should

have put these speeches deliberately into Peter's mouth, except to illustrate what sort of apology for the Faith should be delivered from the first.

As for the parallel character of the miracles of Peter and Paul, the theory is plausible but will hardly bear examination. When one reads them side by side they are dissimilar in character; those of Paul bear a distinct individuality, whilst Peter's, as a rule, seem to be a record of one who had no personal knowledge of the Apostle.

A fifth table is now needed to show where in the New Testament in the Acts and the Epistles Peter and Paul came into any sort of relation with one another.

V. PETER AND PAUL

(1) Acts XV: 7-21—At the Council at Jerusalem Peter pleads the cause of the Gentiles, to whom he had been the first to preach Christ. James, in giving his decision, calls the Apostle by his Hebrew name of Simeon.
(2) Galatians I: 18—Paul went to Jerusalem three years after his conversion to visit Cephas and remained 15 days seeing no other Apostle but James, the Lord's brother.
(3) Galatians II: 9—James, Cephas, and John, pillars of the Church at Jerusalem, agree that Paul should go to the Gentiles, when he had explained his gospel to them.
(4) Gal. II: 11—Paul rebukes Cephas at Antioch.
(5) I Corinthians I: 12—A party at Corinth say, "I am of Cephas."
(6) I Cor. IX: 5—The brethren of the Lord and Cephas mentioned as missionaries of the Gospel.

This table repeats what has been already dealt with. But for all that, it is to the advantage of the reader to have the matter before him in this form. Paul seems actually to have met Peter only on rare occasions—twice, if not three times, at Jerusalem and once at Antioch. There is no suggestion that Peter visited Corinth, because a faction used his

name. The absence of all allusion to Peter in Romans is, as we have seen, significant, but even more so is the fact that even tradition has little to say of their being together in Rome, though it declares them to be founders of the Church there.

It is, however, legitimate to make these inferences from the mentions of the Apostle in the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline epistles.

The Peter of the Gospels is the same throughout—impulsive, affectionate, swift to act, but often led into difficulty by his haste: he is one of the most thoroughly human characters in the Bible. He was evidently a close companion of Jesus throughout His ministry: and it is probable that the Master lived in his house at Capernaum. He was always ready to take the lead in speech and in action, and, if the questions asked by him savour of a certain rustic simplicity, they display an eagerness to learn. The tradition of the Gospel according to John is not that of Peter in the three earlier ones, but Peter is always the same man.

In Acts there are two Peters, the Peter of the Gospel and Peter the head of the Apostolic college. As we have shown, the real Peter discloses himself in Acts X, in the conversion of Cornelius, and in Acts XV when he pleads for the Gentiles at Jerusalem. The other figure of Peter drawn by Luke is very different, and it is probable that either this author was using some earlier source or that he puts into Peter's mouth words suitable to his important position. At any rate, his speeches in Acts I, II, III and even his address to Cornelius, are not what one might expect from the Peter of St. Luke's Gospel.

They are argumentative and even apologetic, abounding in somewhat pompous phrases and affectations of eloquence. The beautiful exhortations to patience in I Peter and the appeal to bear persecution in the spirit of the Saviour are more like the Peter who followed Jesus; but yet, as has been shown, it is not easy to believe that Peter was the actual author of that Epistle.

Paul evidently knew little of Peter. They rarely met and the epistles of Paul say little about him. Yet, even from these scanty notices, Peter was evidently from the earliest days a most important figure in the Christian Church and a very active missionary. As tradition says that he needed an "interpreter," it is probable that, though he cannot have been ignorant of Greek, he spoke it with some difficulty, and what is preserved of his speeches and letters may have come to us through Hellenistic Christians who have given us what originally were simple if profound utterances in a literary form which was quite foreign to the Apostle. Peter's employment of Aramaic, which he spoke with a marked provincial accent, is a reason for supposing that his chief labours were in the East. But this does not preclude a visit to Rome where he would meet many Jews and Syrians who could have understood him.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Simon Peter and Mark

CHRISTIAN tradition has always connected Peter with Mark, mainly because in I Peter there is a salutation from "her that is chosen in Babylon and Mark my son." (I Peter V: 13.) What these words mean is a matter of great uncertainty; but as one of the four Gospels is said to be according to Mark, it was at a very early time indeed considered to have been due to the inspiration or influence of Peter.

Our first task must be to see (1) what is known of the Mark mentioned in the New Testament; (2) the evidence for connecting him with the Gospel; and (3) how far the Gospel itself can be said to represent the teaching of Peter. The date of the Gospel as far as it can be determined, is naturally important.

(1) Mention has already been made of Peter's going to the house of Mary, the mother of John whose surname was Mark. (Acts XII: 12.) This was in the reign of Herod Agrippa who was King of Judæa in 41-44, or more than a decade after the Crucifixion. Mary was evidently a woman of some wealth, and probably a sister of Barnabas. At any rate she owned a house in Jerusalem large enough to accommodate a considerable number of believers. Nothing more is told of her in Acts, but her son played an important if subordinate rôle in the early preaching of the Gospel. How he came into close

relationship with Peter we are not informed in the New Testament, and is a matter for inference. Naturally, much depends on the words "Marcus my son" in the First Epistle of Peter, which was at a very early date accepted without question as the work of the Apostle.

In A. D. 43 or 44 this Mark was a young man, and, therefore, was probably a child at the time of the ministry of our Lord. He reappears some years later at Antioch when Barnabas and Saul started on their missionary labours with "John as their minister" (Acts XIII: 5). What this means is uncertain; Luke in the preface to his Gospel speaks of "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word" (I: 2), and may possibly mean by this the Apostles (witnesses of the Resurrection, *i.e.*, men who had actually seen the Risen Lord), and their assistants. Evidently the apostolic preachers chose young men to accompany them on their missionary expeditions, for when Paul and Silas embarked on their evangelistic labours, Paul induced Timothy to join them in the same capacity as Mark had previously assisted him and Barnabas (Acts XVI: 1 ff.). For some unknown reason Mark deserted Paul and Barnabas at Perga, and was evidently regarded by Paul as having shrunk from the perilous task of carrying the Gospel into the heart of Asia Minor. Barnabas took a more lenient view of his young kinsman's conduct and allowed him to accompany him to Cyprus. (Acts XV: 39.) From that time we lose sight of Barnabas and Mark for awhile. Their names reappear in the Pauline epistles. Evidently all bitterness arising out

of the disputes with Barnabas was forgotten and Mark's career had won him the esteem of Paul.

In I Corinthians IX: 6, Paul expressly associates himself with Barnabas in contrast with the earlier Apostles. As for Mark, we learn from Colossians IV: 10 that he was with Paul during the Roman captivity. This is confirmed in Philemon 24. In the personal directions in II Timothy IV: 11, Mark is declared to be "profitable to me for the ministry." This letter is supposed to have been written when Paul was on his way to, or at, Rome for the last time.

Even if modern critics question whether II Timothy as it stands was the work of Paul, was accepted at a very early date and the personal notices in it are by many to-day believed to be genuine. It may be assumed, therefore, that Mark was with Barnabas, at least till about A. D. 50, and at Rome with Paul less than ten years later, and also most probably at the time of his death. There is not the smallest hint of his association with Peter in any part of the New Testament except in the salutation of I Peter V: 13, where he is called "Marcus my son."

(2) We have now to consider how, in face of this, Mark is so closely connected with Peter. Here again recourse must be had to Eusebius, who tells us all he could gather from ancient authorities extant in the fourth century.

This historian's authority is Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Roman Asia. Among other things Papias says that every one interpreted the "Oracles" which Matthew had written in Hebrew "as he pleased," and this is certainly true of the fragments

of Papias now extant, of which every theologian has his own interpretation. Here it is advisable to state what Eusebius reports of the utterances of Papias concerning Mark.

Papias lived in the earlier days of the second century and probably flourished about A. D. 130. In one of the fragments he writes that he did not care so much for books as for the testimony of those who had been in contact with the Lord Himself, or with those who had known the very Truth. "If," says he, "any one came who had been a follower of the elders, I would enquire as to the discourse of the elders What was said by Andrew, or What by Peter, or What by Philip, or What by John or Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord; and the things which Aristion and the Elder John and the disciples of the Lord say." (Euseb. *H. E.* III: 39.3-4.)

Eusebius says that this Papias, though learned, was of very limited intelligence, a statement which does not detract from the value of his testimony, as he probably reported exactly what he had heard without any comment of his own. What he says of Mark is this: "And the Elder was accustomed to say, Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote exactly as he remembered what the Lord, or Christ, did and said, but not in orderly fashion. For he had never heard the Lord, nor had he followed him; but only Peter, as I said, who taught as men's needs demanded, and did not draw up an account of the oracles of the Lord. So Mark made no mistake in writing down things as he remembered them. For he took heed to this, namely, to omit nothing he

recollected, nor to falsify it in any respect." (Euseb. *H. E.* III: 39.15.) How much the Elder said is uncertain.

Rightly to estimate this testimony, it is perhaps best to regard Papias as Eusebius does, that is to credit him with reporting the words of the Elder accurately, and to refuse to see anything profound in the judgment he passed on Mark's work. The Elder or Papias seems to have regarded Peter as a preacher who told the people his recollections of Jesus in a simple and unaffected manner, relating His words and deeds as the occasion demanded. As Peter spoke only Aramaic with ease, he needed an interpreter to his Greek-speaking converts. To cast his reminiscences into anything approaching literary form was no easy task; Mark attempted to do this, but being no artist, he did the work somewhat crudely. Nevertheless Mark's account was on the whole correct; he left out nothing of importance and told nothing that was not true. Such then was the testimony of a prominent Christian of Asia, then a great centre of believers; and one may hazard the conjecture that in his mind the Gospel of Mark was based on Peter's Aramaic preaching in eastern lands and may, in part at least, account for the tradition based on I Peter, that the Apostle's unrecorded activity was in the countries mentioned in the Epistle. Nothing is said by Papias or the Elder of Peter's preaching in Rome.

The next testimonies are those of Irenæus, the learned bishop of Lyons on the Rhone in Gaul, and of Clement, the teacher of the catechetical school of Alexandria.

Irenæus may possibly connect the Gospels of Mark and Luke with Rome, and in regard to Matthew's, he repeats the statement of Papias that it was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

"Matthew among the Hebrews published the gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the Church. And after their departure (ἔξοδος-death) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, put his preaching into written form; Luke also the follower of Paul put forth in a book the gospel as he preached it." (Euseb. *H. E.* V: 8.3.)

Irenæus here repeats the tradition he may have received when at Rome and connects it with the founding of the Church by Peter and Paul. He evidently gives priority to the Gospel of Matthew, and considers Mark and Luke to represent respectively the Petrine and Pauline traditions. He says that Matthew wrote his Hebrew Gospel when Peter and Paul were founding the Roman Church, and that Mark and Luke after the death of the apostles, thus dating the first three Gospels between A. D. 65-70.

Clement of Alexandria in two places declares that when Peter preached in Rome his many followers begged that Mark would give them a record of what the Apostle had said and that Peter, though pleased with the zeal of his disciple, neither encouraged nor hindered him from doing so. This statement of Clement is somewhat strange. It seems to be based on a tradition that Peter gave at most a cold approval to Mark's attempt to put what he had preached with so much fervour into written form. This is not un-

natural, for Peter may well have thought that his message, when translated into Greek and reduced to writing, did not represent what he himself felt about his beloved Master. At any rate, if such was Peter's view, it was shared by the early Church. No Gospel was less studied than Mark's, and it may be that only its connection with the name of Peter kept it within the Canon. It was not, as is at present considered, the earliest extant gospel, presenting the most primitive tradition of the ministry of Jesus, but was placed, even in date, after the Gospel according to Matthew.

Papias implies that the original Gospels of Matthew and Mark were both derived from an Aramaic source, for Mark could hardly have been described as an interpreter, if Peter had preached in Greek, and modern scholars seem on the whole to confirm this idea of original Aramaic sources of the earliest Christian records.

Another question is whether "Marcus my Son" of I Peter can be identified with John Mark of the New Testament, who is connected in Acts and Paul's letters with Paul and Barnabas. True, it says Mark was in Rome as a companion of Paul, and tradition affirms that Peter was there. Still, if Peter needed an interpreter, and "Marcus my son" was acting in that capacity, he must have been the Apostle's constant companion; and this is not consonant with the New Testament tradition. The more, however, one considers the problem, the more difficult in our absence of precise knowledge, does any possible solution appear.

Papias is careful to observe that Mark had neither known nor followed the Lord. Now the Mark of

the New Testament belonged at any rate to the first generation of believers. Is it probable that Papias should have been so careful to assure us that he had not known Jesus, if he meant that Peter's Mark was the kinsman of Barnabas and the son of the Mary to whose house Peter went after his deliverance from prison? It is at least possible, though it is no better than an hypothesis, that Mark, Peter's "interpreter," like Luke, Paul's "physician," belonged to the second generation of Christians; and that the John of Acts, whose surname was Mark, is not identical with Peter's Marcus.

Be this as it may, the Gospel of Mark, despite the disparagement it met with as no more than an epitome of that of Matthew, is of great interest to us, now that it is admitted on internal evidence that the two other Synoptists certainly knew it in something like its present form, and used it in the composition of their own versions of the life of Jesus. To quote Dr. Streeter's words:

"The difference between the style of Mark and of the other two is not merely that they both write better Greek. It is the difference which always exists between the written and the spoken language. Mark reads like the shorthand account of an impromptu speaker, with all the repetitions, redundancies and digressions which are characteristic of living speech. And it seems to me most probable that his Gospel, like Paul's epistles, was taken down from rapid dictation by word of mouth." [1]

If this is so, the Gospel of Mark, even in the form in which we now have it, may not be only the earliest

[1] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 63.

extant account of the words and acts of Jesus but may represent as nearly as possible a very primitive form of Christian preaching such as that of Peter who had been in close relationship with the Master.

Let us therefore endeavour to undertake what appears to be a simple, and yet is one of the most difficult of tasks: to give in a few words the substance of the earlier part of this Gospel.

The abruptness with which it opens is striking. In a few short verses we are told that John the Baptist had foretold that a Stronger One than he would come. (Mark I: 7-8.) Then Jesus presents himself to be baptized and a voice from heaven proclaims him God's "Beloved Son." (I: 11.) He then retires to the wilderness and is with the wild beasts. Satan tempts him—how, we are not told—and angels serve him. (I: 12-13.)

John is now betrayed to his enemies and Jesus appears in Galilee, proclaiming that the Kingdom of God is near, and calling on men to believe and repent. He invites two pairs of brothers, Simon and Andrew, and James and John, to leave their fishing and follow Him. Thus, with four disciples, Jesus begins His work. (I: 16-20.)

What follows shows the very primitive and even crude character of this Gospel. We hear little of the substance of the teaching; though from the first Jesus is said to have come as a preacher (I: 21), and much of the miracles of the Master.

If this is not what we should look for, it is probably what happened. The extraordinary enthusiasm with which the first appearance of Jesus was greeted, was due, not probably so much to what He said, as to

what He did. He came with power to heal, so the people flocked to Him, and, when they saw the wonder He wrought, they listened to His teaching. (I: 29-39.)

Thus miracle follows miracle. Jesus teaches in the synagogue "with authority", and heals a man with an unclean spirit, whereupon the people exclaim, "What is this? it is a new teaching, he commands the evil spirits and they do obey him." (I: 27.) Then follows the cure of Simon's wife's mother and the people of Capernaum bring the sick in the evening to be healed. More wonders follow: the leper is cleansed, the paralytic's sins are forgiven and he is healed (II: 1-12).

Hostility begins now to manifest itself. Jesus is accused of healing on the Sabbath and of casting out devils by Beelzebub (III: 22 ff), and declares that His true followers are not His mother and His brethren but those who do God's will (III: 31-35).

We now reach the fourth chapter, the one of parables. They are (1) the Sower and its explanation, (2) the lamp in the house, (3) the hidden corn and (4) the mustard seed (IV: 1-32). One cannot fail to observe that these parables are all on the spread of the influence of the Kingdom; and, except that of the Sower, are given without explanation. Perhaps these parables were added as a sort of supplement to show that Jesus spoke to the people in figurative language, the meaning of which was explained privately to the disciples (IV: 33-34).

Still there is one parable which has—and it is not easy to account for this—been omitted in all other records of Jesus sayings: the beautiful comparison of

the Kingdom to a seed, which lies hidden in the ground, apparently dead, though full of life and energy, whilst the man who sowed it can do nothing but await God's good time, as the seed silently becomes first a blade, then an ear, lastly the full corn in the ear. (IV: 26-29.)

The chapter of parables is followed by another series of miracles; but in His own city of Nazareth Jesus could not do many because of the unbelief of the people there. Enough has been said to show that this primitive preaching of the life work of Jesus, though containing many priceless sayings of His, is mainly devoted to exhibiting Jesus as powerful to work wonders. Without doubt the preaching of Peter was even more homely in language than Mark reports it to have been; but at the same time it appealed to the hearts of those who heard him. Yet Mark retains certain touches, which one may well attribute to a Petrine source, and gives a more vivid picture than the other evangelists. For, instead of being, as the Fathers declare him to have been, an "abbreviator" of Matthew, Matthew deliberately cuts down the narrative of some miracles in order to find space for a fuller account of the teaching of Jesus.

It is the fashion to say that the prominence of miracle in a story is a proof not merely that it is less accurate, but less primitive than one in which nothing abnormal is recorded. But here an opposite opinion may be legitimately advanced.

The Gospel was first preached by men who, if they had not seen the risen Christ, had at least known those who had seen Him. "Crucified, dead, buried,

and risen from the dead" was the basis of their creed. We may well ask which would have made the greater impression, His wonderful teaching or His power? All the Gospels agree that those who followed Jesus in His ministry were attracted by His teaching, but they regarded His words as those of a great prophet.

When, however, men began to preach the Risen Lord, their minds must have been filled with thoughts of how marvellous, how superhuman He had proved Himself to be; and when they reflected on His life on earth, they must have realised that it had only been in keeping with His triumph over the grave and death. There can be very little doubt that, had our Lord been regarded, even in His life, as simply a supreme ethical teacher He would not have drawn men to Him as effectually as the conviction that there was something they could not understand in Him—a mysterious power which could deliver them, and enable them to triumph over sickness, pain, famine, storm, and even death itself.

Therefore it is only natural that the early preaching of Christ should have dwelt more on His power than on His teaching or even His example. What would be expected in these days, and actually has occurred in other religions, has been reversed in the story of Christianity. One might expect that a great ethical human teacher should in process of time receive divine honours. But in Jesus the reverse appears to have occurred. His rising from the dead fastened the minds of His disciples on His supernatural character, and time was needed before they could realise that He was truly man, and His teaching sublime in its application to human life.

Repeatedly emphasis is laid on the awe inspired by our Lord's presence with His disciples. It is now usual to dilate upon the charm of the familiar intercourse between the Master and His scholars; but we do not find this in "Mark." On the contrary the disciples, when they did not understand His prediction of suffering, fear to ask Him (IX: 32). When He goes up to Jerusalem they are amazed and follow in dread. (X: 32.) The feeling of the crowd is always one of astonishment. (II: 12 *et al.*)

It is noteworthy that the word Christ is rare in this Gospel.[2] This emphatically does not mean that Mark is interested only in a human and not a supernatural figure: the whole tenor of his gospel points to the contrary. But, in this presentation of the life of the Master, this way of speaking of Him, though adopted by St. Paul earlier than any written Gospel, had not become usual among Christians.

The Gospel of Mark presents many most difficult problems for the critic, and any brief treatment of it must be at best unsatisfactory. But granted that it is in its present form the most primitive of the four, it is for the biographer of Peter to enquire whether it can be said to represent the earliest known type of Christian evangelisation. That Mark contains elements of the teaching attributed to the school of Paul cannot be denied. The only question is how far Paul and his followers had, not a Gospel peculiar to themselves, but one in common with the other heralds of the Gospel. It is legitimate to conclude that there were stages in the recognition of the great-

[2] In Mark I, Jesus Christ is a proper name. The Gospel is about Jesus, now by his Resurrection declared to be Lord and Christ.

ness of Jesus after His Resurrection from the dead, in which all His followers implicitly believed. Before His crucifixion He was hailed as a prophet, whose death on the Cross was a disillusionment to those who had trusted Him. By His Resurrection He came to be recognised as a superhuman Saviour; and men looked back on His ministry to see the proof of His Messiahship in the marvels He had wrought. This stage is that of the Petrine Gospel according to Mark. The next was that of Paul who, "not having known Christ after the flesh," dwells on His power to save, but apparently spoke little about His work as Man. The other Gospels, including even the Fourth, brought into prominence the work of Jesus as a Teacher, and it is as such that He is greatest in the mind of humanity to-day.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Did Peter Visit Rome?

In view of later controversy, the above question must always excite interest and bitterness. That Peter was bishop of Rome as well as the representative of the Lord in the Apostolic College and in the Church for all time, is an article of faith in the Roman communion; and those who refuse the jurisdiction of the Pope as the successor of St. Peter are naturally disposed to welcome as fatal to all papal claims the suggestion that the Apostle—far from having been the first Roman bishop—never so much as saw the city.

This, however, belongs to a long and embittered controversy and not to the sphere of the historian, whose duty it is to state the evidence and draw his inferences from it. Even then, if he wishes to decide that it cannot be demonstrated that St. Peter visited Rome, he must still realise that he has to meet the opposition, not of a Roman, but of an universal Christian tradition, and that his task is the well nigh impossible one of proving a negative.

So far as the New Testament is concerned Peter disappears after his deliverance from Herod Agrippa at Jerusalem (Acts XII: 17), only to reappear at the so called Council of Jerusalem in Acts XV, and in allusions to him under the name of Cephas by St. Paul in Galatians and Corinthians. He is not men-

tioned in the letter Paul wrote to Rome; and what is more remarkable, if Romans XVI is part of that letter, a point open to some doubt, his name does not occur in the salutations. The only evidence in the New Testament which can be adduced to prove that Peter was ever at Rome is in the First Epistle which bears his name, the genuineness of which is disputed. But this does not seriously affect the value of its testimony, for I Peter is a very ancient Christian document and the Apostle was always regarded as the author. The writer salutes the churches of Asia Minor to whom he addressed the epistle from "Babylon." It has been generally assumed that this is the Apocalyptic name for Rome; but there is no positive proof of this.

Probably sometime towards the close of the first century a letter was written from the Church of Rome to that of Corinth rebuking it for a faction, by which some of the elder ministers had been thrust aside. This has long been known as the First Epistle of Clement, whose name is not mentioned. The sin of "jealousy" is condemned as the cause of many troubles in the past, and in recent days the sufferings of Peter and Paul are ascribed to its malignant influence. In the letter, however, there is no mention of these two great Apostles having founded the Church at Rome or having been martyred there. The writers do not appear to know as much about Peter as they do about Paul, whose work and suffering as here described bear a slight resemblance to what we read of in Acts. The reader, however, must judge for himself whether the following passage can be taken to countenance the theory that Rome

was the scene of the labours or the martyrdom of St. Peter.

"Through jealousy and envy the most righteous *pillars* (Gal. II: 9) of the church were persecuted and contended unto death. Let us place before our eyes the good apostle, Peter, who through unrighteous jealousy, endured not one or two but more trials, and having borne his witness (*μαρτυρήσας*) went to the glorious place which was his due." (I Clement 5.)

This epistle of Clement is usually placed at the end of the reign of Domitian, A. D. 96, though some consider it to be later. But the later it is the more conclusively does it prove that the Roman tradition about Peter was not primitive.

The next passage which is taken as a proof of the connection of Peter and Paul with the Roman Church, for in early times they were always regarded as its joint founders, is the letter of Ignatius, the famous martyr bishop of Antioch, to the Romans, in which he begs its members not to deprive him of the crown of martyrdom by their intercession with the authorities. His exact words are *οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν*, which can be rendered "I do not give you orders, as Peter and Paul did," implying that these Apostles were once in Rome directing the Church; or "I do not give you orders as if I were Peter and Paul." (Ign. Rom.: 4.) Anyhow the plain meaning is that Ignatius does not claim the right to speak as an apostle; and it is remarkable that, although he is actually on his way to martyrdom at Rome, he makes no allusion to Peter and Paul having suffered in the city before him.

This brings us to about A. D. 120, and the silence of the next Christian writer about Peter is noteworthy; for Justin Martyr resided at Rome and was martyred there. In his two *Apologies* for the Christians, and in his *Dialogue* with Trypho the Jew, neither Peter nor Paul is mentioned. But though this silence may be explained as being germane to neither of the subjects on which Justin is writing, yet he thrice speaks of Simon the Magician, who was later considered as the special adversary of Peter, and says nothing whatever about the Apostle.

The martyrdom of Justin took place A. D. 165, and some years later we have the first direct mention of the foundation of the Roman Church by Peter and Paul. Irenæus, it will be remembered, was an Asiatic who had migrated to Lyons on the Rhone in Gaul and who had become the bishop of its church. He had previously lectured at Rome, presumably on the heresies of his age. One of his most effective arguments is that the Gnostic teachers professed to have received a tradition from the Apostles of the Lord, whereas the bishops of the Apostolic churches who had been ordained by the followers of Christ and had received from them the true teaching, had no knowledge whatever of this secret tradition. The most unexceptionable tradition was that of the Roman Church, which had been founded by the two greatest Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who had committed their doctrine to Linus, whom they had appointed bishop, and it had been passed on faithfully to their successors till the time of Irenæus, that is till the pontificate of Eleutherus. These are the exact words:

"The most great and ancient and universally known church established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, and also the faith declared to men which comes down to our time through the succession of her bishops. For unto this church, on account of its more powerful lead (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*),[1] every church, meaning the faithful who are from everywhere, must needs resort; since in it that tradition which is from the Apostles has been preserved by those who were from every place. The blessed Apostles, having founded and established the church, entrusted the office of the episcopate to Linus. Paul speaks of this Linus in his Epistles to Timothy, Anencletus succeeded him, and after Anencletus, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the episcopate." (*Heresies* III: 32.)

Whatever meaning we may put upon this much disputed passage, it is certain that Irenæus knew Rome well, having been there himself as an honoured guest, possibly twenty years before he wrote the above. At any rate the tradition that the church had been founded by SS. Peter and Paul was well established by A. D. 178. From henceforth there is no doubt whatever that, not only at Rome, but throughout the Christian Church, Peter's visit to the city was an accepted fact, as was his martyrdom together with that of Paul. Contemporary, or possibly earlier, than Irenæus was Hegesippus who is quoted by Eusebius as declaring that Peter visited

[1] It is remarkable that Eusebius, who quotes freely from Irenæus, does not translate this famous saying. Had he done so the Greek would probably have been *διὰ τὴν διαφορωτέραν ἀρχήν*.

Rome and made a list (if this be the right reading) of its bishops. But this list has not been preserved, and Peter's name is therefore not mentioned.

It must be acknowledged that the evidence of the New Testament, of the Apostolic Fathers, and of the Christian writers before Irenæus does not support the view that Peter was ever at Rome, and those who deny his presence there have a less used, but not, I think, less effective argument in the legend of Simon Magus.

No false teacher had such a hold on Christian imagination as the Simon whom Peter withstood in the city of the Samaritans (Acts VIII: 14 ff.). Justin Martyr, though not mentioning the story in Acts, takes Simon to Rome, where the people receive him as a God and erect an altar to him on the island of the Tiber. Irenæus devotes much space to the refutation of his heresy, and the pseudo-Clementine literature relates how Peter followed him from city to city, to oppose his false teaching. In later legend the scene of Peter's conflict with Simon is Rome where the Apostle runs down, refutes, and destroys the great heresiarch. But, save for some casual notices in the Clementines that Peter intends to follow Simon to Rome, there are no early indications that the final conflict took place in that city.

So much for the contention that Peter never went to Rome. Our next duty must be to examine the argument on the other side, and to show how universal is the testimony from the beginning of the third century onward in favour of Peter having been in Rome.

Our first task must be to give briefly the evidence

from the Church writers and then that of the Catacombs and Roman archeology. Two things may be conceded: first, that the belief that St. Peter was martyred in Rome was not due to the vanity or ambition of the local Christians, but was admitted throughout the Church; secondly, that for this very reason no testimony later than the Peace of the Church need be considered; by this time the Roman Church claimed to have the body of the Apostle, and no one disputed the fact. Whether Peter was bishop of Rome is another question needing separate treatment.

It is well to take a comparatively late writer as our first guide when dealing with this subject of Peter's connection with Rome after Irenæus. Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote his Ecclesiastical History as late as 330, but he had access to more early writers than many of his predecessors, as Cæsarea possessed probably the best Christian library in the world. He was a diligent compiler and collected all the information accessible in his age to aid him in relating the story of the Church, and any one who has summarised the first books of his history must confess that very little was known about any of the Apostles, including even St. Peter. Eusebius is particularly interested in the episcopal succession of all the great sees, and the earliest bishops of the great churches, with one or two rare exceptions, are little more to him than names.

By the time of Eusebius, Peter's pre-eminence among the Apostles was fully recognised. This writer calls him "The mighty and great one of the apostles, the leader of all of them because of his

virtues"; he says Peter was first bishop of Antioch, and that with Paul he founded the churches of Corinth and Rome. He further tells us that Peter was married and had children, and that his wife was a martyr. Besides this, Eusebius adds that Peter was crucified head downwards, that at Rome he saw and approved of the Gospel of Mark, that he was buried in the Vatican "field." All the works, canonical and apocryphal, attributed to St. Peter are mentioned, his Acts, his Preaching, his Apocalypse, his Gospel. In a word, Eusebius relates practically all he knows about the great Apostle, which was, we may safely assume, all that a very learned eastern bishop could ascertain. This testimony is the more valuable because Eusebius has no bias in favour of the Roman church, and though he is not very well informed as to its history, yet Peter in his mind is inseparably connected with Rome, the scene of his later labours and death; nor does any early Christian writer assign any other place for them. The tradition was, therefore, firmly settled and implicitly believed early in the fourth century, and no later testimony is needed to confirm it. The question is how it came to be so fully and universally accepted by the time of Eusebius, and to recount all he says concerning Peter.

In the Second Book of his Church History, Eusebius first mentioned Peter in a quotation from Clement of Alexandria to the effect that Peter, James, and John, who had been honoured above all by the Lord, did not claim the honour of being bishop of Jerusalem; but conceded the office to James the Just, the Lord's brother. Eusebius then gives

on the same authority that, after the Resurrection, Jesus entrusted "the knowledge" to James the Just, John, and Peter, who committed it to the rest of the Apostles, who in turn gave it to the Seventy, one of whom was Barnabas. (*H. E.* II: 1.4.) Later on in the same Book we are informed how Simon Magus escaped from Peter to Rome, whither the Apostle followed, carrying with him the proclamation of the glorious Gospel. Being at Rome, Peter approved the work of Mark's Gospel; and Eusebius adds that this is the Mark mentioned in I Peter as being at "Babylon" by which name Rome is figuratively called. (*H. E.* II: 15.2.) At the close of the Second Book the testimony that Peter and Paul were martyred in Rome is made to rest on a statement of Tertullian who, though his home was in Africa, was closely in touch with the Church of the imperial city. He declares that Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded. (*H. E.* II: 25.5.) Gaius, a Roman church writer in the days of Bishop Zephyrinus, is next cited, who places the tombs of the two founders of the Roman Church respectively on the Vatican and by the Ostian way. The third testimony is that of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who, writing to the Romans, declares that their church and his can glory in the same twofold apostolic foundation, and that Peter and Paul were martyred at Rome "at the same time." (Euseb. *H. E.* II: 25.8.)

In the first chapter of the Third Book Eusebius gives an extract from Origen's Third Book of his Exposition of Genesis, which shows how infinitesimal was the knowledge of the labours of the Twelve. "Thomas, as is the tradition, obtained by lot Parthia,

Andrew Scythia, John Asia, Peter appears to have preached in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia, and in the end was crucified at Rome head downward, for so he desired to die . . . Paul was martyred at Rome in the days of Nero." In a subsequent chapter, Clement of Alexandria is quoted to show that Peter was married (as the Gospels and St. Paul expressly state), that he saw his wife led to execution and encouraged her to persevere to the end. The historian has no doubt as to the genuineness of the First Epistle of Peter, but gravely questions that of the Second. His apocryphal works are mentioned to be unhesitatingly rejected. (*H. E.* III: 25.5 and 8.)

This is all Eusebius has to say about Peter and we may be fairly sure that had he known more he would have given his information. His authorities are (1) I Peter, addressed to the churches of Asia Minor and sent from Babylon, which is interpreted to be Rome; (2) possibly Papias bishop of Hierapolis is Asia Minor (*circa* 120) who, however, when mentioning the connection of the Gospel of Mark with Peter does not name Rome; (3) Dionysius of Corinth (A. D. 170) who alludes to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome; (4) Tertullian of Carthage (A. D. 190 onward); (5) Clement of Alexandria (A. D. 200) and (6) Origen (d. A. D. 252). To these must be added (7) the "ecclesiastical man," Gaius of Rome, who may be the famous Hippolytus.

It is remarkable how little these third century writers tell us about St. Peter; nor will the plea that we have no right to expect it of them avail. The crucifixion of Peter head downwards is surely a highly

dramatic martyrdom, well calculated to excite the imagination of believers, but nothing is said about it till about the third century—at the least more than a century after Peter's death. Clement of Alexandria is our authority for several stories about St. John, and, as we have seen, he mentions the martyrdom of St. Peter's wife and the Apostle's words to her as she was led to execution. Is it conceivable that, had he known any facts about Peter's end, or even if any tradition had come down he would have neglected to record it, or that Eusebius would not have copied Clement's words in his history, had there been more to record? The Acts of Peter, as we shall see later, describe the martyrdom, but except for the beautiful touch about Peter meeting his Lord at the gates of Rome, these Acts seem to be patent inventions.

That there should be no earlier legend to connect Simon Peter and Simon Magus with Rome than Hippolytus, to whom Eusebius does not refer, is notable. Justin Martyr, who lived and suffered in Rome and believed that Simon had a monument on the island of the Tiber, strangely says nothing of his being refuted by Peter. It was not till the third century that we hear of this famous contest. Despite the great names by which it is supported, the literary argument for Peter's visit to Rome is certainly unsatisfactory, although the probability that he visited the city is strong.

The marvellous discoveries which archeologists have made about primitive Christianity in Rome must be seriously taken into account. These reveal that from an early date the Christian religion had

taken a firm hold on the inhabitants of the capital of the world, that its adherents were not only numerous but were represented in every class of the community. Before their disuse in the fourth century the Christian burial grounds or catacombs extended for hundreds of miles and the bodies they contained must be reckoned in millions. The known inscriptions, moreover, take us back to within a few decades of the ministry of Christ on earth.

Admitting this, one is prepared to accept as final the statement, "For the archeologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence." But when we seek for this testimony we are met with more rhetoric than inscriptions. We are told that Constantine built churches over the tombs of Peter and Paul. But this proves what all admit: that it was believed throughout the world in the fourth century that Peter had made Rome the scene of his labours. It is demonstrated that this was universally accepted by the Church in A. D. 200 and even earlier; and such a belief was not likely to be questioned later nor did any church presume to claim its city as the place of Peter's martyrdom. But, as has been shown, the evidence for this is decidedly slight. It is not the purpose of this chapter to deny that Peter visited Rome but only to point out that the fact is not as unquestionable as is often assumed. Indeed the Apostle is so intimately associated with the Roman Church that it is necessary in writing of him to regard Peter and Rome as inseparable, and this attitude will be adopted in the future. The probability that St.

Peter was an organiser of the Roman Christian community is very strong indeed, though the evidence for this cannot in honesty be pronounced to be unquestionable. It would be gratifying if the fact could be established beyond a doubt, but the historian must be content with the evidence he has at his disposal.

Itinerary of PETER and CLEMENT in the Recognitions and Homilies

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Peter in the Clementine Literature

CLEMENT of Rome is a shadowy figure in early Christian literature. The sub-apostolic writers connect him with the Clement mentioned by Paul as his fellow labourer, whose name, with others, is in the book of life (Phil. IV: 3). He appears in the *Shepherd of Hermas* as a prominent member of the Roman Church (Vision II: 4-3). In one respect he resembles Peter in having two epistles attributed to him, though his are of course but semi-canonical—the first being possibly by him and the second certainly not. In addition to these, he is credited with a considerable spurious literature of very doubtful orthodoxy. He must have been a famous man, who made an impression on the church of his age, and yet we know little or nothing about him. One might reasonably expect that he would have gone down to posterity as the successor of Peter as bishop of Rome. But he did not; he is only third on the list, two unknown names, those of Linus and Cletus, preceding him. This seems to prove that he is no mere creation of ecclesiastical legend but a real personage. Strangely enough his name never occurs in the so-called First Epistle of Clement, which was attributed to him at a very early time and has found a place in one of the oldest manuscripts of the New Testament. The letter is from "the church which sojourneth in Rome, to the church which sojourneth in Corinth."

But neither the First, nor the Second Epistle of Clement (not a letter at all) need detain us here. We have to deal, not with the historical Clement, but with a legendary person with whom a considerable literature is connected, as the chosen companion of Peter. Indeed this Clement is supposed to express the doctrine and preaching of the great Apostle.

Clement, so the story goes, was the son of Faustus, a noble Roman, connected with the family of the emperor Tiberius (A. D. 14-37). Faustus, or Faustinanus, for he is called by both names in the two versions of the romance, married a lady named Mattidia, who also was a member of the imperial family. The wicked brother of Faustus made overtures to Mattidia; and on being rejected accused her to her husband of misconduct. Unable to endure such calumny, she fled from her husband to Athens, taking with her her twin sons, Faustinus and Faustinianus, and leaving behind an infant named Clement. After about twelve years Faustus set sail for the East in search of his wife and children. Mattidia was shipwrecked on the coast of Palestine. Her sons were lost to her and sold as slaves to Justa, the Syro-Phœnician woman, whose daughter Christ had healed (Mark VII: 26). Justa adopted the two lads, giving them the names of Aquila and Nicetes. They became disciples of Simon Magus, whom Peter had rebuked for offering money to purchase the power of conferring the Holy Spirit by the laying on of his hands. (Acts VIII.) They were brought to a better mind by Zacchæus, the publican (Luke XIX: 5), who introduced them to Peter.

Faustus was as unfortunate as his wife. He dis-

appeared for a while, and Clement, then a boy of twelve, believed his father to be dead. The orphan, evidently left well off, was of a deeply thoughtful disposition. He meditated on the problems of life, and especially of his future after death. News came to Rome of the ministry and death of Jesus, probably in accordance with the very ancient story that Pilate had sent a report of Him to Tiberius. Barnabas appears at Rome and preaches the Gospel, and Clement, struck by his words, defends him from the fury of the mob. Finally he resolves to follow Barnabas to the East, or, according to the other narrative, he meets him at Alexandria. Anyhow, Clement goes to Palestine, where Barnabas puts him in touch with St. Peter.

Almost every feature in this story is unhistorical. The names as well as the circumstances are anachronistic; and the original writer evidently had no knowledge of Roman history: he confuses the times of Tiberius with those of Domitian, and even of later emperors. However, this does not immediately concern our purpose, and we may properly resume our narrative.

Peter gives Clement a hearty welcome at Cæsarea, where he is about to encounter Simon Magus. Though Clement is not yet baptized, he is invited to be with Peter as his disciple, and is instructed in the mysteries of the Christian faith. They go from Cæsarea to Laodicæa and there the "recognitions" take place. Clement discovers that Aquila and Nicetes are his brothers, that an old woman Mattidia is their mother, and finally, that an old man who denies that things happen by Divine Providence and

relates his experience, is really his long-lost father. The meeting of Clement with his mother is prettily told. The party have arrived at Antaradus (see sketch map), and are told that the island of Aradus is worth a visit because of the vine wood (or glass) columns and some works of Phidias. In the spirit of tourists, Peter's companions ask leave to take a boat and go to see them. The good-natured Apostle consents. He however, unlike his friends, will not admire the pictures, or according to the *Homilies* look at anything. Whilst he is alone he finds a beggar woman who turns out to be the mother of Clement. Such is the simple plot of the romance of the so-called Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. But though it can in no sense be regarded as historical, nor more than a not particularly edifying romance, it is of no little importance in an attempt to depict the conditions of early Christianity. Some of it is certainly of great antiquity, and one of the most famous reconstructions of Church History in modern times has turned upon it, regarding the attitude of Peter to the Christianity which was being propagated by Paul. To deal fully with the questions involved in this curious piece of Christian literature would require a long treatise in itself; and in a life of Peter the writer must severely confine himself to certain important topics. There are: (I) the position in which Peter is represented as standing towards James, the Lord's brother, who is called the bishop and even by a strange anachronism the "archbishop" of Jerusalem. (II) The position of Clement, whom Peter at the time of his martyrdom is said here to have consecrated as his successor to the See of Rome.

(III) Who Peter's adversary Simon really was; was he a creation of the imagination, or an actual personage, or one invented to disguise the latent antagonism between the followers of Peter and those of Paul? (IV) What was the alleged heresy of Simon, and what form of doctrine was the original romance intended to advocate? Finally (V) What are the component parts of this literature, their origin, date, and their relation to the works which profess to deal with the teaching and adventures of Peter himself? Two things seem to be fairly certain: that this so-called Clementine literature was heretical, and that it obtained no little popularity even among orthodox Christians.

(I). James the Lord's brother is always in the background of this literature; and two letters are prefixed to the *Homilies*, one from Peter, the other from Clement, both addressed to James at Jerusalem. Peter salutes James, the Lord's brother, and bishop of the Holy Church, and entrusts to him certain books which he has written. He entreats James to take care that they are not seen by any profane persons; for some from among the Gentiles are perverting his preaching, even in his lifetime, with the object of doing away with the Law. No one is so much as to see these books unless he has been properly tested, because of the lawless preaching of a particular man, who as Peter's enemy is perverting his words. Those who are to see the books must be found worthy "according to the initiation of Moses."

James accepts the trust. The man to whom these doctrines are committed is, after being proved for

six years, to be brought to where baptism is administered. He must be circumcised and faithful and swear, "By earth, fire and water" that he will never reveal the secrets by writing, or by causing them to be written. When he has sworn this strange oath with its fearful penalties, the initiate is to partake of bread and salt with him who admitted him. James warns the elders who hear with terror, and exclaim, "Blessed be he, who foreseeing all things, has graciously appointed thee as bishop."

When Peter is about to suffer martyrdom at Rome, he ordains Clement as bishop by the laying on of hands, and solemnly instals him, giving him the power of binding and loosing, and saying that all he decrees on earth shall be decreed in heaven. Peter places the reluctant Clement in his chair and enjoins him solemnly to send to James an account of all that he has done. Accordingly Clement sends James the story of all his intercourse with Peter inscribing it "Clement's epitome of the *Homilies* of Peter."

In one of Peter's discourses in the *Recognitions* (IV: 35), he says that no teacher is to be believed who does not bring credentials from James, the Lord's brother, or from whomsoever comes after him; and Peter is sent to Cæsarea against Simon, by command of James (*Recognitions* I: 72).

These extraordinary documents and statements will require further consideration; but here it is enough to say that they prove, whatever their date, that there was a time when some Christians looked back to a primacy, not of Peter, but of James, and regarded the Brother or Brethren of the Lord as superior to the Apostles and their great leader.

Jerusalem, not Rome, was the centre of Christendom, and all teaching, even that of Peter, had to be submitted to James as its bishop. At the time of the letters monarchical episcopacy had been fully recognised. In the eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, in the so-called Clementine Liturgy, prayers are to be made for James (Jerusalem), Clement (Rome), Evodius (Antioch), and Annianus (Alexandria), and their districts (parishes).

(II). On all the early lists in the Roman succession, as has been previously indicated, two perfectly obscure persons, Linus and Cletus, who is sometimes duplicated by an Anacletus, stand first. Yet in this literature Clement appears as the direct successor of Peter. The reason for this is hard to determine. Evidently the Clementine legend appeared in countries where very little was known of Rome; and in it Peter is a missionary whose labours extend along the coast of Syria, his chief centres being Cæsarea, Tripolis, Antaradus, and Antioch, only casual mention being made, either in the *Homilies* or *Recognitions*, of Rome.

But at an early period Clement's first Epistle was recognised as an important Christian book, and even in the East the author was assumed to be an eminent personage, and one of the acknowledged leaders of the Church. He was consequently regarded as the successor of Peter, and the best representative of his tradition.

The explanation of this is attributable to the fact that the name Clemens or Clement was prominent and honoured among the Roman Christians. The mention of the name by St. Paul no doubt contributed

to this, and the author of the Epistle, whether he was the friend of the Apostle or not, was, judging from his extensive knowledge of the Greek Bible, an Hellenistic Jewish Christian held in high honour by the Church. But there was another reason for the regard paid to the name. If we may trust Suetonius, Flavius Clemens, the consul, a relation of Domitian and a victim of the tyrant, was at least through his wife Flavia Domitilla intimately connected with the Church, if not actually a Christian. Now our Clement is said to have been a relative of the imperial family, though to bring him into contact with Peter and to place him in the very first days of the Faith, he is said to have been a kinsman of Tiberius, which is well nigh impossible. Although sober history does not make him a bishop of Rome, romance may well have done so. Nor is it to be overlooked, that Aquila, the translator of the Bible into Greek, is said to have been a relative of Hadrian, and that Clement's brother received this name from Justa. Although, therefore, the relationship of the Christian Clement with the imperial family is hypothetical, it may well be that in the East this was generally accepted, and that this important convert was regarded as the ruler of the Roman Church and Peter's successor.

It is noteworthy that throughout this Clementine literature, Clement is depicted as accepting the faith as an enquiring heathen. Although the tone throughout is extremely Judaic, the successor of Peter is not a Jew, but the Apostle commits his charge, and with it his tradition, to a Gentile—and this despite the injunction that no uncircumcised per-

son shall read the books he has sent to James. It is as though the object of the Clementines was to show that Peter was the founder of the true Gentile Church, consisting of men who had made no breach with the Jewish Christians, but had remained closely attached to James, the bishop of Jerusalem.

(III). We have now reached the very heart of the problem as to who Simon, Peter's most formidable antagonist, was. It may facilitate our discussion if we begin by recapitulating what is said of him in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*.

When Clement meets Peter at Cæsarea, the Apostle is awaiting a contest with Simon Peter. Aquila and Nicetes, who later prove to be Clement's brothers, tell the story of Simon, whose disciples they had once been.

The impostor was the son of Antonius and Rachel of the village of Gittæ. He was first a disciple of John the Baptist—in the *Homilies* the Hemerobaptist—and then of Dositheus. Simon however claimed divine honours as the *Standing One* and induced his master Dositheus to worship him, whereupon Dositheus died. John, or Dositheus, had thirty disciples to correspond with the days of the month, and a female follower called in the *Recognitions* *Luna* (the Moon) and in the *Homilies* Helena *Selene*. She became the companion of Simon.

Simon, as the brothers Aquila and Nicetes inform Clement, can become invisible at pleasure, dig through mountains, pass through rocks, throw himself headlong from a high mountain and be borne safe to the earth, make trees spring up and sprout at once, enter the fire unharmed, alter his counte-

nance at will, change himself into a sheep or a goat, etc. Here we have Simon the magician and the old contest between Christianity and magic to which allusion is made in Acts. Peter's friends are afraid that Simon may get the better of him by his arts.

In the argument between Peter and Simon at Cæsarea, as recorded in the *Recognitions*, one is surprised to find that Simon shows a considerable knowledge of Scripture, and that the discussion turns on whether there is a good God who has hitherto been unknown but has not been revealed to the discomfiture of the God of the Old Testament. His heresy in fact appears to be that of Marcion, who propagated his opinions, long after the apostolic period, towards the middle of the second century. Peter, on the other hand, discusses the question in the spirit of a Christian apologist; and only at the end, when he has acknowledged himself convinced and offers to become a disciple, but is refused by Peter, does Simon boast of his magical arts, and proclaim himself the Divine Power. The people then cast Simon out and he retreats.

Simon reappears at Antioch where he once more argues against Peter, and here he exercises his magical arts by giving his own countenance to Clement's father, who ultimately is restored to his proper shape and is baptised, the story ending with the triumph of Peter. It is indeed a curious narrative, but it is deeply interesting as illustrating what Peter was conceived of being in certain Christian, or Judaizing Christian, circles.

That the Simon, who figures so conspicuously in this legend about Peter, is the Simon of Acts VIII is

well nigh incredible. He is in truth a very elusive personage. Of course in all ecclesiastical tradition he is identified with Simon, whom Philip baptized, and Peter and John rebuked. He is considered to have been the father of all heresy. It was firmly believed that he had gone to Rome and been worshipped as a god, and an altar erected in his honour, *Simoni Deo Sancto* which Justin Martyr declares he saw himself. The altar was discovered in 1574, inscribed to a god *Semo Sancus*, and Justin, who probably knew very little Latin, made a perfectly excusable mistake. This writer however does not connect Simon with Peter. The Church fathers declare that Simon was the author of a learned heretical book called the *Great Disclosure*. We may however infer from them that this Simon was a second century Gnostic, whose sect was once formidable but became absorbed in other philosophies of this school and had practically disappeared by A. D. 250 or earlier.

As for the Simon of the Clementines, the writer or writers seem to have confused Simon the magician, whose arts amazed the Samaritans in Acts, with Simon the philosophic heretic, and even with Marcion, the profound Gnostic teacher who carried Paul's theories to an untenable conclusion. If one may hazard a conjecture, in this literature Simon Peter is opposed by Simon Magus, much as Christ is by Antichrist. Peter stands for the true doctrine, and Simon for heresy. The Apostle receives the truth from Jesus Himself, the magician listens to a deluding spirit whom he calls his master. We thus become face to face with the question, Is Simon a dis-

guised name for Paul, to whom Peter was supposed to be opposed?

This view was given to the world by the famous theological school of Tübingen in the middle of the last century. For a time it enjoyed a high degree of popularity and was regarded as the key to the problem of early Church history. Briefly stated, it is that there were in the New Testament days two rival forms of Christianity, that of Peter the companion of Jesus, and that of Paul who had not known Jesus but had evolved a Christ out of his inner consciousness. These two schools (one may almost call them churches) had agreed to unite; and the great Roman Church was derived from Peter and Paul in token of this compact. There were, however, recalcitrant Jewish Christians who kept the older Petrine tradition. The Clementine literature is the fruit of this antagonism and Paul appears as the arch-heretic Simon Magus, the enemy of Peter and of all truth. This supplies the key of much that is unintelligible in the New Testament, and is the clue to the historical discrepancies between Acts and the genuine Pauline Epistles, Romans, I and II Corinthians, and Galatians.

This theory is not now maintained as confidently as it was, and some of the arguments in support of it—such as that Paul's journey to Jerusalem with contributions for the "poor saints," is a parallel to Simon's attempt to bribe Peter to recognise him—are too ingenious to be satisfactory. Some, however, taken from the Clementine books, are well worthy of attention, and the historian of the present day would be rash indeed if he were to treat the whole idea with

contempt. A few passages may here be cited in support of a view which has been propounded with much scholarly elaboration.

In the first book of the *Recognitions* there is a very curious passage in which a strange story of the first days of the Church is told by Peter to Clement. The sects of the Jews, including that of John the Baptist, oppose the Christians. Gamaliel, who was secretly a disciple, supports them. James the bishop makes a long speech. An *enemy* tells the Jews they are being deceived by "Simon a magician." He incites a tumult and James is hurled down from the steps and supposed to be dead. Five thousand believers go down to Jericho. Gamaliel tells them that Caiaphas has sent the *enemy* to Damascus, believing that Peter had fled thither. The fury of the Jews is somewhat abated because the sepulchres of two of the brethren are whitened without human aid every year. Then the Christians go to Cæsarea and meet Zacchæus. All the harm has been done by an *enemy*. The question is, Was this *enemy* St. Paul? The late date of this section is said to be proved by the title of James of "archbishop," which was not known in the Church before the fifth century.

In the Homilies (XVII: 19) there is a section describing how Simon withstood Peter though he was a strong rock and the foundation of the Church, and that he declared he was condemned (*κατεγνωσμένος* see Gal. II: 11) thereby accusing God, Who had revealed Christ to Peter.

In other sections (XI: 35, II: 17, 18) there are more or less veiled allusions to Paul's antagonism to Peter, and in *Recognitions* (III: 49) Simon is called

"a *chosen vessel* made for the Evil One." These and others may be taken as referring to an antagonism of the Clementines to St. Paul.

That there was antagonism between a school of Peter and that of Paul cannot be denied. Marcion with his exaggerated Paulinism, and the Ebionites with their Judaizing tendencies, prove this. The fact is that we know so little about the period from the conclusion of the Acts of the Apostles to the middle of the second century, that all reconstruction of history must be based on theory; and as both Clement's letter to Corinth and that of Ignatius to Rome, the conjectured dates of which are 96 and 112 respectively, couple Peter and Paul as the leading apostles, any conjecture as to their antagonism must be arbitrary. We cannot even prove that they ever came in contact with one another after their meeting at Antioch.

(IV). Our main authorities for Simon Magus are (a) Acts VIII, (b) Justin Martyr, (c) Irenæus, (d) Hippolytus, (e) The Clementines. These must be dealt with with the utmost brevity.

(a) Acts VIII: 9-24 says that when Philip, one of the Seven, preached in "the city of Samaria" there was a Simon whose magical performances made the "nation of Samaria" declare him to be the Power of God who is called "Great." He was converted and was baptized. When Peter and John came and conferred on the new converts the gift of the Holy Spirit, with all its manifestations, Simon offered money if they would give him a like power of imparting the Spirit. Being sternly rebuked by Peter, he asked the Apostles to pray that he might be

spared. Nothing is said of Simon *himself* claiming to be the Power of God or of being the cause of further troubles.

(b) Justin Martyr (*Apology* I: 26) says that the heathen honour the devil's magicians as gods and that a statue was erected to Simon, a Samaritan impostor, on the island of the Tiber, and he repeats the story (ch. 56). We are further informed by Justin that he had written a book on heresies and his refutation of Simon Magus may have been the basis of others which appeared later. Justin's Simon Magus came to Rome in the days of Claudius, and the name of Peter is not mentioned. In the *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 135) the Samaritans are said to have declared Simon to be God.

(c) Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, is the next witness, and wrote about a generation after Justin Martyr before the close of the second century. In his First Book *Against Heresies* he relates that Simon and Menander were the first of the Gnostics, that Simon claimed divinity and said that Helena, whom he had redeemed from the lowest degradation, was the mother of all as the *Ennœa*, or conception, of the Divine mind, from whom proceeded the creative Angels, etc. The Simon whose system he has in mind, is not the Simon of Acts, to which this father never refers, but some early Gnostic heretic.

(d) The Hippolytus, to whom the *Philosophumena* (Philosophisings) is now ascribed, probably delivered his book as lectures in Rome early in the Third Century. He identifies Simon with the magician in Acts VIII and speaks of his contest with Peter at Rome, where he says Simon tried to perform

the Indian trick of feigning death, and, after being buried, reviving. But he failed, and still lies in the grave. This differs from all other accounts of the impostor's death. Hippolytus follows Irenæus, and also quotes copiously from the *Great Disclosure* (ἀπόφασις), an elaborate Gnostic work which he believed to be the work of the heresiarch.

(c) That there was a heretic name Simon seems fairly certain, but he cannot be identified with the Simon of Acts. The Simon of the Clementines can hardly be identified with the one whom Peter is said to have withstood at Rome. With some resemblances to the system alluded to above, this Simon, at any rate in the *Recognitions*, propounds Marcionite doctrines. The whole scene is laid in Syria; and the adventures related by Clement occur on a journey from Cæsarea to Antioch, the places along the coast being named in their proper order. Simon is said to intend to go to Rome, but only in passages which are fairly obvious and not over skilful insertions. That there was a real heretic called Simon seems as certain as that the Clementine Simon is a creation of the imagination. So for that matter is Clement, and even the Peter who talks philosophy and is well acquainted with all the arguments used against heathenism as used by the more learned apologists.

As was common in early days, when an heretical work was popular among Christians, it was either suppressed, or rewritten in more edifying language. The *Recognitions* were almost purified, but the *Homilies* are less orthodox. The whole romance belongs to a Judaising school which Bishop Lightfoot happily assigned the name of Essene-Ebionite. The

Essenes were a sect of Jews in the days of Christ famous for their ascetic practices, holding secret doctrine, and perhaps (but this is doubtful) abstaining from the sacrifices of the Temple. The Ebionite heresy was a form of Judaizing Christianity, in which Jesus figured, less as a godlike person, than as a prophet of Israel who at His Baptism had received the Spirit from God in a higher degree than any of his predecessors, and might therefore be styled God's Son. The story, however, was too interesting to be disregarded, hence the expurgated version in our hands.

Before quitting the subject the reader may be put in the position of knowing what are the component parts of this strange romance. The main divisions are the *Recognitions*, the *Homilies*, and the two *Epistles*. There is also a so-called *Epitome*.

The names *Recognitions* and *Homilies* are misleading, for we should imagine that the one dealt with the story of how Clement recognised his family, whilst the other was a collection of discourses. But both contain the same materials, *i.e.*, the utterances of Peter and the story of Clement. They are practically two editions of the same book. But the *Recognitions*—which is known chiefly by the Latin translation made early in the fifth century by Rufinus, first the friend, and finally the enemy of St. Jerome, is the more orthodox of the two, its heretical tendencies having been as far as was possible obliterated.

The Clementines are, as has been already said, pure fiction, and are interesting as showing how the Christian writers sought to make their principles attractive to the public, much in the fashion of a mod-

ern religious novel. Some space has been given to their discussion, because they reveal a very early conception of the Apostle Peter. In them he is *par excellence* the preacher, the great exponent of Christian doctrine, the enemy of all heresy. The work of ruling and guiding the Church is assigned to James the Lord's brother, to whom Peter regularly submits his doctrine for approval. There does not seem to be any indication that this view ever prevailed in the universal Church.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Apocryphal Acts, Gospel, and Apocalypse of Peter

ABOUT the middle of the second century, and according to most scholars not later than A. D. 160, a certain Leucius wrote the *Acts of John.* The book contained nothing of historical importance but was of the utmost value as illustrative of popular Christianity at a very early date. It may be described as a religious novel which attempts fully to gratify the passion of believers for the miraculous. The miracle of restoring the dead to life, which our Lord is only thrice recorded to have wrought—and when He raised the daughter of Jairus, He expressly said "the maiden is not dead but asleep"—occurs so continually in the story of St. John, as scarcely to excite comment. In addition to this, there is a decidedly heretical element showing that Leucius wrote in the interest of what was called Docetism, maintaining that our Lord's bodily appearance was in a fantasy and not a reality. The scene is laid mainly in Ephesus and Smyrna. Just before his death the Apostle explains that Jesus, when He called the two sons of Zebedee, appeared as a child to James, and as a bearded man to himself at one and the same time. He then relates that just before His betrayal He led His disciples in a mystic dance, instructing them to answer Amen to some curious verses He recited. During His apparent crucifixion Jesus appears in glory to John in a cave on the Mount of Olives and declares He is not really on the Cross.

This was the first of a series of "Acts of Apostles," the second being "of Paul," and the third "of Peter," composed in evident imitation of the Acts of John but far less heretical in object. Specially interesting features in these strange productions are the prayers attributed to the Apostles on different occasions and the truly Christian sentiments at times put into their mouths; these are a relief to the reader who has to peruse much that seems alike childish and frivolous.

The *Acts of Peter*, as they now stand, open with Paul at Rome purporting to start for Spain. When he departs the Christians are in a sad plight, for Simon the Magician arrives, and corrupts the Church by his teaching. A senator named Marcellus had embraced the Faith and become an example to all men by his profuse charity and his compassion for the poor. Under the influence of Simon he began to be harsh and illiberal, and the believers in despair send for Peter. The Apostle embarks in Palestine for Italy. Apparently this was in the twelfth year after the Ascension, as the Apostles had been instructed to remain for that time before they left Jerusalem. Peter having received in a vision the Lord's command to go to Rome, hastens to Cæsarea and climbs into the ship after the ladder had been removed. The captain named Theon received Peter gladly; and one day in the Adriatic, when the ship was becalmed and all the crew were fallen into a drunken sleep, Theon begged to be baptised, and he and Peter descended by a rope into the sea. When the ship reached Puteoli, Peter and Theon learned from their host Ariston that since Paul's departure

a Jew named Simon had corrupted the mind of the Christians at Rome.

Peter, Ariston, and Theon then journey to Rome and lodge at the house of Narcissus, the presbyter. Peter addressed the Church; and all repent, after which he goes to the home of Marcellus, the Senator, who is the host of Simon. Simon refuses to admit the Apostle, but Peter, seeing a large dog, unchains him, and tells him to go and tell Simon to come forth. The dog is given a man's voice and delivers his message. This converts Marcellus, who entreats Peter to ask God to pardon him. One of those present laughed, and Peter, seeing that he was possessed by a devil, ordered the evil spirit to come forth and show himself to the people. The possessed youth dashed a statue of Cæsar to pieces to the terror of Marcellus, who feared the imperial displeasure; but Peter ordered water to be poured on the statue and restored it to its former condition. The dog returns and delivers his message from Simon, then falls dead at Peter's feet. Upon being asked to work another sign, Peter casts a dried fish which had been hung in a window into a large bath and it becomes a living fish. Simon is then driven out of the house of Marcellus, and goes to where Peter is lodged, challenging him to come forth and be convicted of false teaching. But Peter commands a woman with a child at her breast to go to Simon and the sucking child rebuked the impostor, who became dumb and went out of Rome and abode in a stable. By request, Peter then goes to an assembly of old women, who are to be relieved by the charity of Marcellus. He opens the eyes of a blind widow. Then after Peter

had uttered a prayer, Jesus appears, and heals all the blind widows, who each see Him differently, as James and John had in the Acts of John, some as a young man, others as a child.

The same night Marcellus has a vision and commands Peter to repair to the Forum of Julius where all the Romans with their magistrates had assembled to witness the strife between Peter and Simon. Peter reminds Simon of the wonders he had witnessed at *Jerusalem* (!) and how he had offered Peter and *Paul* (!) money to be able to work similar miracles and finally challenges Simon to another contest in doing signs and wonders. Simon then, by the permission of the prefect, whispers something in the ear of a boy who becomes speechless and dies. The prefect, Agrippa, challenges Peter to revive him. Peter tells Agrippa to take the lad by the right hand, and he is alive again. At the same time he raises a widow's son to life and tells him to support his mother, foretelling that one day he will serve him, ministering as the deacon of the bishop.

It must be owned that there is a sameness in these stories of miracles wrought by Simon the magician and Simon Peter. It is noteworthy that the writer of these Acts admits that Simon works miracles, but these are but temporary; a dead man is restored to life, but not completely, the sick are cured but relapse. At last, thwarted on all sides by Peter, Simon tells the Romans that he will fly up to the god, whose Great Power he is. Peter prays that God will smite the impostor in his flight, and not kill him, but only break his leg in three places. This happens;

and Simon, according to the Latin version, dies under the hands of unskilful physicians.[1]

What strikes one most in these Acts is not their improbability nor the complete absence of any knowledge of history, even as recorded in the New Testament—witness the story of Simon offering to buy the power to work wonders at Jerusalem from Peter and Paul—but their dulness and the lack of ability to interest any reader in the miracles they relate. But it is remarkable that there is no trace of a desire to represent Peter as organising the Roman Church or uniting his work with Paul's. The two Apostles do not here co-operate: on the contrary, Peter comes to Rome because of a danger which has arisen owing to Paul's visit to Spain, and to the coming of Simon to sow the tares of heresy in the absence of any Christian teacher capable of withstanding him. When we come to the accounts of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul we find that, so far from their falling as in the Church calendar on the same day, June 29th, they are entirely disconnected.

Agrippa, the prefect, has four concubines. Peter converts them; and they decline any further intercourse with their master. This provokes Agrippa to desire Peter's destruction.

Albinus, a friend of Cæsar, had also a wife, named Xantippe, whom Peter had persuaded to desert his bed; and he urged Agrippa to have Peter arrested. When Xantippe had told her husband's design to the

[1] The Roman Church in the fourth century observed an earlier custom of fasting on Saturdays. This sabbath fast was apparently peculiar to Rome. According to some authorities it was because "the Apostle Peter had fasted on this day before his encounter with Simon."

Church, all besought the Apostle to leave Rome because his life was of such value to them. Accordingly he started on his journey and met Christ entering Rome. When he asked, "Lord, why goest thou hither"? the answer was: "I go to Rome to be crucified"! At this Peter, struck with remorse, returned to the city to meet his doom.

Peter is arrested at Rome by four soldiers and is crucified with his head downwards. Whilst he is suffering, he does not imitate the silence of his Master, but delivers a discourse to his many disciples, for by his means countless poor have been relieved, on the mysterious meaning of the Cross.

Nero, we are informed in a sort of appendix, probably by a later hand, was much displeased with Agrippa, because he had intended to inflict a far more cruel death on Peter. Marcellus took the body, embalmed it with costly spices and placed it in a marble coffin he had designed for himself. For this loving profusion Marcellus was sternly rebuked by Peter, who appeared to him in a vision.

Even earlier than the Acts either of John or Peter is an Apocalypse bearing Peter's name, which may go back as far as A. D. 120. It is mentioned as by Peter in some fragments of Clement of Alexandria and classed among doubtful books in the Muratorian Canon which is probably contemporary with Clement. It evidently had a wide circulation, partly owing to the name of Peter being prefixed, but also because the subject had a terrible fascination for the Christian public. As at the Transfiguration Our Lord showed the Apostles the saints in glory; but most of this revelation is of the torments of the damned, which are so awful that Peter asks how a merciful

God could create beings who were to endure, even though guilty, such pains. He is rebuked but is given a very faint hope that hell may not be eternal. At the same time he is warned not to publish the possibility of such a thing.

This and the other extra canonical Apocalypses shed much light on what Christianity meant to the third and fourth generation of believers. Nothing is more remarkable than the reticence of our Lord, St. Paul, and the men of the first two generations, as to the next world. The Revelation of St. John the Divine is not really an exception. The gorgeous picture of the celestial city and of the angelic worship of the Lamb, the visions of judgment so magnificently conceived, the mystical imagery, have inspired generations of Christians. The doom of the wicked is described in a few terrible words, they are "cast into the lake of fire." But in their non-canonical apocalypses heaven is a glorious place, feebly imagined; but the fertility expended on conceiving the fate of sinners is inexhaustible. They hang by their tongues over fiery ovens, they sink in marshes of indescribable filth, they are tormented by fiends with pitchforks. Dante's Inferno, conceived by a poetic genius, possesses a grandeur of its own; but the early Christian hell is unrelieved in its horrors. The thought inevitably presents itself, that these descriptions of the punishment of sin were designed for purposes of edification, to persuade men to escape by entering the Church in which alone salvation could be found, and to induce those who had confessed Christ to remain steadfast. Thus early Christianity like its mediæval counterpart was largely a religion of terror; and, if the beauty of its ideal attracted some, its threats of an

eternity of punishment drove more into the fold.

In addition, among the very early documents ascribed to St. Peter, there is a gospel in his name. This was current in Syria at the end of the second century and so popular that Serapion, bishop of Antioch, had seriously to examine it and decide whether it could safely be read by the faithful. He came to the conclusion that it savoured of the docetic heresy and must be on that ground condemned. Quite recently a portion of it has been recovered which relates the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord.

This is the oldest story of the Crucifixion outside the New Testament, and is made up of the narratives of the four Gospels with a few additions. One is the statement that the Lord hung on the Cross "as one who had no pain." Doubtless it was this sentence which made Bishop Serapion condemn the orthodoxy of this gospel. Another extra-canonical passage makes the soldiers guarding the tomb witness the Resurrection. Two men came forth whose heads reached the heavens, but the head of the one in the midst was "higher than the heavens." The women who came to the sepulchre fled in terror, as in the genuine conclusion of St. Mark. Peter and Andrew soon after went fishing as in the supplementary chapter of the Fourth Gospel. Here the fragment ends abruptly.[1]

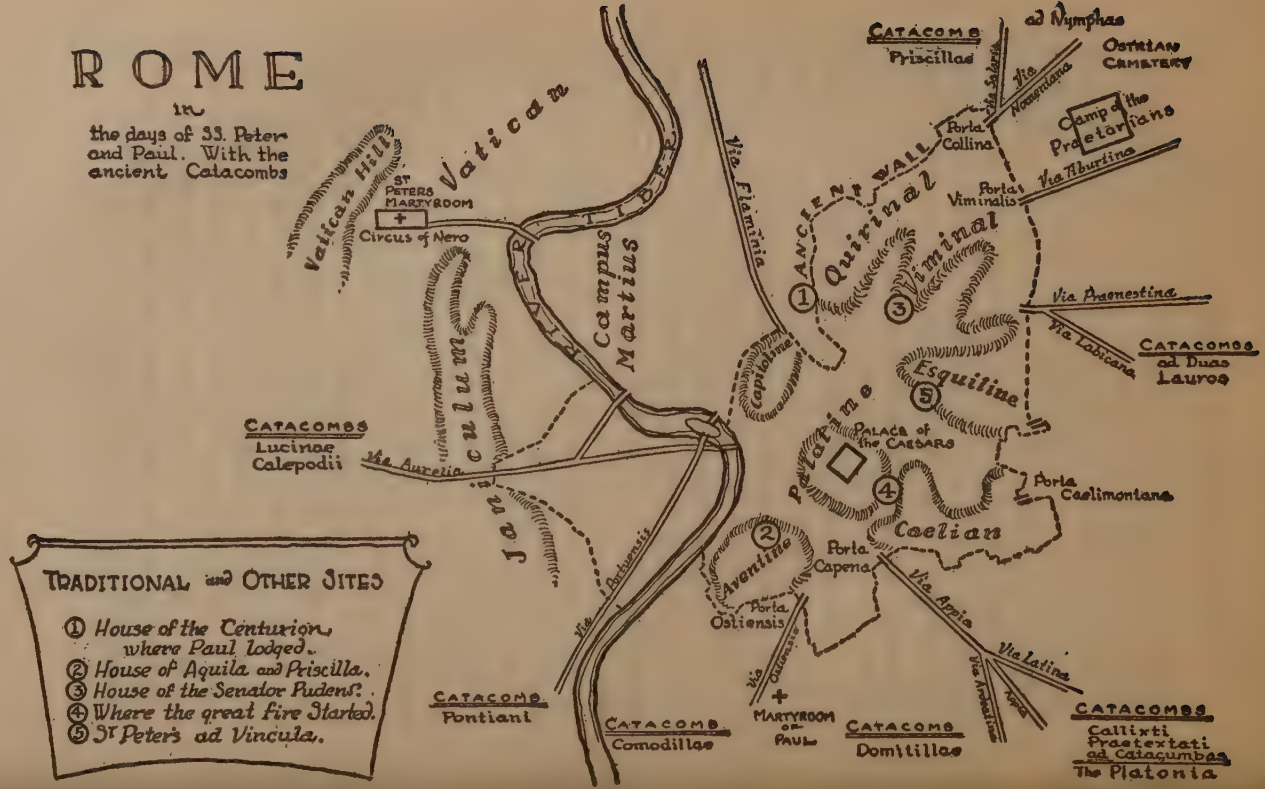
Among other very early works ascribed to Peter is his *Preaching* which was evidently popular in Egypt, being known to Clement of Alexandria and to

[1] An ingenious argument for the early date of the so-called *Gospel of Peter* is to be found in P. Gardner Smith's *The Narratives of the Resurrection,* London (Methuen & Co.).

Origen. It consists of a discourse against idolatry, and is said to belong to the second century.

It is plain that, besides the Clementine literature mentioned in the previous chapter, works began at a very early date to be attributed to the Apostle. The *Gospel*, the *Apocalypse*, and the *Preaching* were widely circulated before the end of the second century; and the *Acts* belong to its first decade. All are unworthy of the leader of the Apostles; but this did not make them the less popular, as they supplied information which was lacking, gratified the passion for the miraculous, and provided a strong, if not lofty motive, for men to join the Church. The remarkable fact is that the authorities were unanimous in rejecting all; and the apocrypha of Peter have never come as near recognition as the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Epistles of Clement*.

The leaders in authority in the Church have been declared destitute of all critical ability. As it is assumed that they made a canon of the New Testament, which they never did, it is asserted that the name of a book was enough to make it scriptural in their eyes. But whether I or II Peter are really genuine, or were merely regarded as Scripture because the writer claimed to be Peter, the fact remains that antiquity, and the Petrine title, could not obtain authority for the Apocryphal literature under discussion. More judgment than we are disposed to credit them with must have been exercised by those early Churchmen, who confirmed the authority of the books of the New Testament and let the others sink into deserved oblivion.


ROME
in
the days of SS. Peter and Paul. With the ancient Catacombs
Vatican Hill
St Peters Martyrdom
Circus of Nero
Vatican
Tiber
Campus Martius
Via Flaminia
Capitoline
Quirinal
Viminal
Esquiline
Palatine
Palace of the Caesars
Coelian
Aventine
Ancient Wall
Porta Collina
Porta Viminalis
Porta Esquilina
Porta Caelimontana
Porta Capena
Porta Ostiensis
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Via Tiburtina
Via Praenestina
Via Labicana
Via Appia
Via Latina
Via Ardeatina
Via Ostiensis
Via Aurelia
Via Portuensis
Janiculum
Catacomb Priscillae
ad Nymphas
Ostrian Cemetery
Camp of the Praetorians
Catacombs ad Duas Lauros
Catacombs Lucinae Calepodii
Catacomb Pontiani
Catacomb Comodillae
Martyrdom of Paul
Catacomb Domitillae
Catacombs Callixti Praetextati ad Catacumbas
The Platonia
TRADITIONAL and OTHER SITES
1 House of the Centurion where Paul lodged.
2 House of Aquila and Priscilla.
3 House of the Senator Pudens?
4 Where the great fire Started.
5 St Peter's ad Vincula.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Beginnings of the Church in Rome

If for no other reason than it is the one apostolic foundation that has had an unbroken tradition, the Roman Church must always be of the greatest interest to every Christian student. Older than any existing church in the world, save only that of Jerusalem, it has alone maintained itself as a living organism without interruption from the days of the first Cæsars to the present day. The succession of the Roman pontiffs can be traced backward to the times, to quote Macaulay, "when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of Supreme Pontiffs. That line we trace back in unbroken succession from the Pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the Pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is lost in the twilight of fable." But even granted that a mist obscures the fact of the foundation of the Roman Church by Peter and Paul, the Church of Rome came into the light of history, certainly by the middle of the first century, and has never withdrawn from it. It is still full of life and energy and is facing an incalculable future as confidently as it relies on an indubitable past.

But although the present writer not only believes but desires to believe in Peter's visit to Rome, he is compelled to confess that he cannot see that proof is supplied by the little historical evidence at our disposal, yet neither he nor any reasonable person can doubt the extreme antiquity of the venerable Roman Church.

Of this by far the most important witnesses are (1) the New Testament, (2) the Roman historians and the Apostolic fathers, (3) the Christian archeology of Rome.

First, however, there is the indisputable fact that from the beginning of the first century B. C., or even earlier, there was a large Jewish colony in Rome. A great city has always had an irresistible attraction for the Jews, the majority of whom, not of course the pious enthusiasts, seem to have found Babylon as congenial as their descendants have the great centres of population in every age, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Constantinople, Bagdad, Cordova, Paris, London, Amsterdam, or the great cities of America. They have throughout the ages shown a tendency to make parts of these cities their own; and, not only by compulsion but naturally, to herd together in certain districts. The ghetto was no invention of Christian oppression, but existed long before the Church was in the ascendant, and at Alexandria the Jews from the first had a quarter of their own. Indeed to the poorer class, who cannot occupy houses of their own, the segregation of the ghetto is almost a necessity, unless they mingle freely with the Gentiles. Properly to observe the Law it is necessary to live in a Jewish community, and invari-

ably the Jew has sought to isolate himself in a large city that he may live among his own people. Thus there were in Rome districts wholly given up to Jews, notably across the Tiber on the Janiculum. It is estimated that in the first century of our era there were between 30,000 and 40,000 Jews in Rome.

(1) It is significant that in the enumeration of the nations on the day of Pentecost, the only European country or city mentioned as being represented on the day of Pentecost were the "strangers from Rome." Thus from the very first the news that many had accepted Jesus as the Messiah must have spread to the imperial city, and there is no reason why the Roman Jews who acknowledged the Christ should not have formed some sort of "synagogue" or organisation of their own. It needed no missionary from Jerusalem to do this. By the autumn following the Crucifixion it is quite as possible that Jesus was honoured in the Jewish community in Rome as that He was at Damascus; nor is there any reason to doubt that some years later there were tumults in the city about "Chrestus," as Suetonius records. That Aquila and Priscilla, who met Paul in A. D. 50, were already believers is by no means incredible. Natives of Pontus, their business had taken them to Rome, an imperial decree had expelled them when they found Paul at Corinth. There is no hint in Acts that they were converted or baptized by the Apostle. That Peter visited Rome after he had escaped from Herod Agrippa's prison is perfectly possible; yet there is no evidence to show he did. The Epistle to the Romans presupposes at least a

highly intelligent Jewish body of believers, whom Paul was extremely anxious to visit.

It is often maintained as an argument in favour of Peter's having preached in Rome, that Paul, in Romans XV: 17-21, says he has preached the Gospel as far as Illyricum on the Adriatic; and, as he was determined never to preach where others had been before him, had not gone to Rome, which Peter had evangelised. But not only in Acts XIX: 21; yet in this Epistle Paul had expressed his earnest desire to go to Rome that he might give the Church the benefit of his instruction, and impart to its members some spiritual gift (Rom. I: 10, 15; XV: 22 ff.).

It is evident that when Paul wrote to the Romans he had been in communication with them, and it was impossible that it should have been otherwise to one who stayed in such busy cities as Corinth and Ephesus.

Whether the salutations are addressed to Rome or to the believers in some other city is a matter of doubt, but the names in Romans XVI seem to warrant the supposition that the community consisted of Hellenistic Jews, those of the household of Aristobulus being probably clients of the Herodian family. When Paul came to Rome as a prisoner, he found a Christian community at Puteoli where he disembarked; and his Roman friends came a considerable distance to welcome him. The official leaders of the Jewish colony appear not to have known much about him.

On the whole it may be inferred that the believers of Rome belonged mostly to the middle class and enjoyed some worldly prosperity. The very poor,

or slaves in humble positions, could scarcely have left the city and journeyed as far as Appii Forum to receive the Apostle. Of his two years' sojourn at Rome we know nothing except that he lived in his own lodging and received visitors, just as Justin Martyr says he himself did a century later.

(2) One of the problems which ought to perplex the church historian most, but which the majority relate without question, is the nature of the so called Neronian persecution.

For the reign of Nero and the authorities nearest in time are Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius. Of these Tacitus was born before A. D. 61, and was therefore quite young at the time of the fire. The date of Suetonius is less certain, but the earliest year assigned to his birth is A. D. 69, or five years after the burning of Rome. Dion Cassius flourished at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. Tacitus probably survived Trajan who died in A. D. 117.

On June 18, A. D. 64, Tacitus tells us, a fire broke out in Rome between the Palatine and the Mons Cælius. It caught a number of shops stored with combustible goods and nothing could stop the progress of the flames. The narrow streets from which no exit was possible made the conflagration the more terrible. Nero himself was at Antium, a town on the seacoast thirty-eight miles from Rome, and remained there till he heard that his own property on the Esquiline was in danger, when he hurried to the city to protect it. On his arrival, however, the Emperor behaved unexpectedly well. He opened the Campus Martius to the afflicted and homeless people

and allowed them to occupy his own gardens on the Vatican. He had temporary buildings erected, he reduced the price of grain, he had furniture and household materials brought from Ostia and the cities near Rome. (Tacit., *Ann.* XV: 39.) In fact, even Tacitus admits Nero acted on this occasion as a wise, prudent, and kind-hearted prince. The fire lasted for six days, three of the fourteen "regions" of Rome were destroyed, and seven more hopelessly damaged.

Before we continue the story of the burning of Rome we may advert to the similar catastrophe which overwhelmed London in 1666. On Sunday, Sept. 2d, there was a fierce storm of wind raging and a fire broke out in Pudding Lane in one of the most crowded parts of the City. The stores were filled with inflammable material such as tar, and other things used by the ships in the river. The water supply from the New River had been cut off and the wind, blowing from the East, carried the fire onward with terrible velocity. The city authorities were paralysed by the calamity; the Lord Mayor refused to allow houses to be demolished to stay the flames. Charles II rose to the emergency, divided the city into districts to protect the people from marauders, whilst he was to be found in the most dangerous places encouraging the workmen as they laboured to extinguish the flames. He opened the royal stores to supply the populace with biscuit, had huts erected throughout the suburbs, and procured lodgings for the fugitives in the neighbouring towns and villages.[1]

Such a calamity as either of these could not be attributed to ordinary causes. That sometime a fire was bound to rage in cities so unscientifically con-

[1] See Evelyn's *Diary*.

structed as either Rome or London could not satisfy the people. The reason must be sought either in the anger of Heaven at the sins of the court, for which those both of Nero and Charles provided ample excuse, or in some deep and widely laid conspiracy. Popular rumour in Rome credited Nero with having resolved to burn Rome in order to rebuild it, but Tacitus displays a certain caution in attributing the inception of the fire to the malice of the Emperor. (*Ann.* XV: 39: "a report prevailed.") Suetonius is far more malicious than Tacitus. He says nothing of Nero's efforts to relieve the sufferers, but relates how he viewed the conflagration, playing on a lyre and repeating a poem on the burning of Troy. Both Tacitus and Suetonius declare that incendiaries were seen increasing the fire in different places, and Suetonius observes that military engines were employed to destroy some granaries, the site of which Nero desired to occupy. It may be however that, as in London, houses were demolished to prevent the spread of the flames.

As the entire blame for the disaster had fallen on Nero's shoulders, it was necessary to find other culprits. Tacitus, but no other historian, says that these accused were Christians, or members of an objectionable sect which had originated in Judæa and had already reached Rome. The police seized some of these, exhorted confessions from them; and on their evidence a large number were condemned. Nero made their execution an occasion of a popular entertainment, inviting the multitude to his gardens, which were illuminated by the burning bodies of the alleged criminals. (*Ann.* XV: 44.)

This is the so called persecution of Nero, of which Tacitus is our only witness. His account presupposes a church, so far separated from the Jewish community as to be easily distinguished from it. Moreover it would appear from Tacitus, that though the sufferings of the Christians moved people to compassion, they were already guilty of "hatred of the human race," that is as avowed enemies of society. He does not so much as hint that any of the criminals were Jews.

We may now return to the parallel between the fire of London and that of Rome. Whereas Nero professed to have discovered the Christians as responsible for the conflagration, the English people laid the blame on the Roman Catholics. Five years later the Lord Mayor and the Common Council of London set up a monument to mark where the fire had stopped with an inscription that the City had been set on fire by the Papists. There are few more striking parallels between ancient and modern history.

Within five years of the fire of London, therefore, the monument declared that it was the work of the Papists. Tacitus wrote between thirty and forty years after the burning of Rome. The question, therefore, is, Were the Christians already a separate body distinct from the Jews in Rome as early as A. D. 64, and, even then, were they persecuted as members of an illegal religion, or punished as incendiaries? Or was Tacitus influenced by the views of his own time when Christianity was sharply distinguished from Judaism, and its adherents believed capable of

any crime, and therefore regarded as the possible authors of the Roman fire?

The story, as Tacitus relates it, is by no means incredible. That a widespread illegal religion, like that of the worship of Bacchus in the days of the Republic, should be discovered to exist as a deadly peril to society was perfectly natural, especially when men were stunned by an awful calamity, and that Nero, or his police, should have sought to have diverted the public mind by punishing its members as incendiaries, is quite conceivable. But, even then, was the arrest and execution of these so called Christians strictly a persecution? If they suffered as criminals, they had no opportunity of renouncing their faith! They had taken part in the burning of Rome; that was enough.

Suetonius says nothing to connect the Christians with the burning of Rome. He speaks of the meritorious laws of Nero in the early days of his principate, long before the fire at Rome. Strict sumptuary laws, always commended in Rome and never enforceable, were enacted. Public banquets were forbidden and food ordered to be given to individuals instead. Expensive meals at taverns were prohibited. The Christians, a race (*genus*) of men, were subjected to condign punishment, charioteers were no longer allowed to range at large and insult and rob people, and the pantomimists and their supporters (*factiones*) sent away.

This testimony is important as showing that Suetonius at any rate recognised the Christians as a separate people, and uses the same term (*genus* or γένος)

as the apologists do. A conjecture may further be hazarded that the words *superstitio malefica* may mean a superstition which employed witchcraft. This would be a sufficient reason for condemning them to death, and when we recall not only the alleged miracles recorded in the contests between Peter and Simon Magus, and the accounts of Jewish and Christian rabbis vying with one another in the exercise of magical powers, but also the stories of the death of Ananias and Sapphira, the deliverance of men to Satan by Paul, and the wonders wrought "In the name of Jesus," we can scarcely wonder at the charge of malicious witchcraft being brought against the earliest followers of Christ at Rome. This charge does not seem to have been repeated at a later date.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, though embodied in the New Testament, may perhaps allowably be employed here as part of writings of the sub-apostolic age as an evidence for the existence of the very early Roman Church. That it was sent to Rome by some unknown writer is the opinion of many scholars, and it certainly was known in the Church of Rome when I Clement was written to the Corinthian Christians. The chief objection to the epistle having been addressed to the Roman church is that the "Hebrews," whoever they were, had to bear some reproach and even the spoiling of their goods in the cause of Christ, but had not "resisted unto blood," which could hardly have been written to those who had endured Nero's persecution. If, however, the Roman destination is allowed, the community described in Hebrews certainly consisted of men of culture and refinement, able to receive a letter cast in a good

literary mould, and distinguished for the generosity they were in the habit of displaying to less fortunate Christians. This, as we see in Ignatius, was characteristic of the Roman Church.

It is generally assumed that the First Epistle of Clement belongs to the close of the first century. The occasion for its dispatch was a schism in the Church of Corinth, in which the younger members had tried to supplant their older rulers. The Roman church felt compelled to remonstrate in a letter in which stress is laid on the sin of jealousy. This has been the cause of all the calamities which good men have endured. It was jealousy, which made Cain kill Abel, and for which Saul persecuted David. To come to nearer to our own times the good apostles Peter and Paul suffered much through the jealousy of others. There is a question in the meaning of this word "jealousy" (ζῆλος). Except in this and the succeeding chapter, it is evidently the same as the factious emulation which had distracted Corinth. It is a vice which has ruined cities and nations, and if persisted in, will ruin the promising Corinthian church. The remedy is obedience to God and the practice of humility. Of Peter, the Roman Church at this time knows little. He suffered much and testified to Christ by his death.[1] Of Paul a little more is known. He is a good example of a victim of jealousy, since the Jews were the authors of all his recorded sufferings, and one of their motives was assured by envy. But can it be said that persecution

[1] But in such an early document as I Clement the word *μαρτυρήσας* need not mean more than "bore his testimony," and is applied to some who were not actually put to death.

by the heathen was this "jealousy," especially if it was due to a false accusation that the Christians had burned Rome? The factious people at Corinth are called instigators of an abominable jealousy, but the heathen are never mentioned.

A marked characteristic of this letter is its profuse use of Scripture. Twenty-one books of the Old Testament are quoted. Not only so but use is made of most of the canonical books of our New Testament, and "Clement" is the only apostolic Father who unmistakably shows a knowledge of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some of the coincidences with New Testament language and thought may be accidental, and even fanciful, but there is enough to prove that the Roman church at this early date had a profound knowledge of the Old Testament, and was imbued with the language of the New, and notably that of St. Paul. At the end of the Epistle in the newly recovered portion there is a prayer of much beauty, decidedly liturgical in form.

It is difficult to think that a Gentile in the first century could have been the author of I Clement, and probably the leaders of the Roman Church then were Jews.

On the whole the Christians in Rome seem to have been fairly numerous already, and able to address a neighbouring community with a certain air of authority. Roman zeal for discipline is already becoming prominent among them.

The words rendered "Because of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us," are taken to be a reference to the Second Persecution—that of Domitian (81-96). But it is not

easy to date the letter with any certainty; and Dr. Merrill in his *Essays in Early Christian History* has suggested that the opening words are little more than apology for not writing sooner.

Ignatius was taken from Antioch to Rome where he had been condemned to be exposed to the beasts in the amphitheatre about A. D. 108 or later. On this way he wrote letters to the churches, seven of which have been pronounced to be genuine. The one to Rome is a remarkable revelation of the condition of the Church there. The Saint dwells with rapture on the importance of the Christian community and pays it the high tribute of imploring the members not to use their great influence in obtaining a pardon for him. Their Church enjoys a "primacy of love" and can without doubt procure his release. But, so great is his desire for martyrdom, that he hopes they will not balk him of his earnest hope for the crown. Evidently there was no persecution at the time, nor is there any indication that the cities through which Ignatius passed were in danger. Even at Antioch, when he was removed, persecution had ceased. He asks the Romans as a favour not to interfere. He dare not order them as though he were a Peter or a Paul. Yet he does not suggest that these great Apostles had suffered in Rome.

From both Clement and Ignatius we gather that there was a considerable church at Rome before the death of Trajan and that some of its members were highly regarded. At the same time these letters make no mention of a bishop: the one speaks in the name of a church, and the other appeals to one. Even Hermas, who is said to have been a brother of

the bishop Pius and lived in Rome, mentions no officials of the Church except "Clement who will send his book abroad, and Grapte who will exhort the widows and orphans." As for Hermas, he is to read it with the elders who preside over the Church.

(3) The importance of recent archeological discoveries cannot here be overlooked. At least they confirm all that has been said of the influence of the Roman Christians at an early date. St. Paul, as is well known, sends salutations from the household of Cæsar (Nero) to the Philippians. He himself made the name of Christ known throughout the *prætorium* (palace of the Cæsars, or the prætorian guard or barracks). Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius the conqueror of Britain, is supposed to have been a Christian, as is Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domitian, who was put to death by that Emperor. That Christ was preached in imperial households seems certain; and this is confirmed by the discoveries of inscriptions in the so called crypt of Lucina in the catacomb of St. Calixtus, and in the Cœmeterium Domitillæ. But as Lanciani shows from the remains attributed to this aristocratic circle, their sympathy with the new religion was more or less secret. Few belonged to the Church openly: many, as the later catacomb decorations show, were still attached to their ancestral customs. On the whole, if we except the somewhat doubtful records of the persecution by Domitian, they and the rest of the Roman Christians were not seriously molested; and, as the letter of Ignatius shows, they could influence the police and officers of justice to relax the sentence of a convicted Chris-

tian. On the whole one may say that Christianity was fairly widespread by the close of the first century, but the Church of Rome had scarcely emerged from the mist of legend.

The absence of Roman Church tradition regarding the first and early second century is very marked. Not a single name, save at a late date, is connected with the Neronian persecution except those of Peter and Paul. Of that in the time of Domitian, the only name mentioned is Flavia Domitilla, who is often assumed to have been banished for the faith by this emperor. There is no allusion to any of the Roman aristocracy, who are supposed on the authority of secular writers and the inscriptions, to have shown any disposition in favour of the Christian religion. Even Clement left no trace except in the legend that he was banished by Trajan to the Chersonese and drowned in the Black Sea, where his body was miraculously discovered by the Apostles of the Slavs Cyril and Methodius, and brought to Rome by Cyril in the ninth century. As for Clement, his fame would not have survived but for the honour in which he was held in the East. Even I Clement seems to have been entirely neglected by those Latin Fathers who were ignorant of Greek.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The First Bishops of Rome

THE twelve popes who followed St. Peter are (1) Linus, (2) Cletus, (3) Clement, (4) Evaristus, (5) Alexander, (6) Sixtus I, (7) Telesphorus, (8) Hyginus, (9) Anicetus, (11) Soter, (12) Eleutherus.

Before stating what is known of these it is necessary to enquire how the Roman Church came to accept SS. Peter and Paul as its founders, and St. Peter as the first bishop.

The only possible way to avoid the difficulty of Paul's silence as to Peter in Rome seems to be to accept the statement of Jerome that Peter, twelve years after the Crucifixion, when the Twelve were believed to have separated in order to go forth to evangelise the world, betook himself to Rome and there founded its church. If the date of his martyrdom is fixed in A. D. 67 or 68, this would account for the belief in his twenty-five years' "episcopate." Not that any one would maintain that Peter was at Rome seated on an episcopal throne all that time. The most that can be urged is that twenty-five years elapsed from his first visit to Rome to the day of his death. But though Jerome's tradition may be Roman, he wrote more than three centuries after the event. The story of Peter's visit to Rome in 42 when he encountered Simon Magus, as has been shown is connected with the departure of Paul from

the City to Spain. His martyrdom at Rome is as well attested as anything can be by a tradition current a century after the event. The silence of the Epistle to the Romans, of Acts and of II Timothy is fatal to any supposition that Peter and Paul were ever together at Rome except possibly at the very end of their lives. But this might account for nothing being said of a very brief visit of Peter to Rome many years before the Epistle was written.

The earliest testimony to the two Apostles founding the Roman Church is not earlier than the later part of the second century, when Irenæus says that they jointly committed the care of it to Linus, who is accredited with a twelve years' episcopate. Nothing is recorded of his doings; but the story of Peter's martyrdom, written in Greek but extant in a Latin translation is given under the name of Linus. Who succeeded Linus, is uncertain. Some lists make Cletus the second pope, others Clement. Of the twelve years assigned to Cletus nothing is known; and there is also an Anacletus mentioned, who is probably the same person as Cletus. In the Clementine literature Peter, as we have seen, is said to have ordained Clement as his successor. It would, therefore, appear that very little was known even as to the exact order of the first successors of Peter.

In the Canon of the Roman Mass, though all these twelve pontiffs and indeed all the popes till the days of Constantine are credited with having been martyrs, the names of Linus, Cletus, Clement, and Sixtus alone are mentioned. It is curious that the only one whom Irenæus declares to have been martyred was Telesphorus. The first, except Clement, of

whom we have any information whatever is Pius, who was recognised early as the brother of the Hermas of the *Shepherd*. His successor Anicetus is said to have received with honour the aged St. Polycarp of Smyrna about A. D. 154. Before this date we have practically no history of the Roman Church whatsoever. Hegesippus, who came from the East, made a "succession" of Roman bishops, if that is the right reading, "till the days of Anicetus," and Irenæus enumerates the popes to the days of Eleutherus. There is as yet not even a *Roman* tradition about any of these Popes except that Eleutherus sent missionaries to Lucius, King of Britain.

But if the early days of Roman Christianity were days of obscurity they were also days of growth, and this must make us careful not to press the argument from silence too closely. Nevertheless the fact remains that nothing has survived to connect St. Peter with Rome, till we come to the days of Irenæus. Even in the writings of Justin Martyr there is no evidence about the Apostle having been in Rome. But in the lifetime of Irenæus it becomes evident that the Roman Church was being ruled by vigorous and able men, and that their predecessors had maintained the tradition of the Faith so unaltered that it was looked upon as the norm for the whole Christian world, at any rate in the West.

Undoubtedly many heretics resorted to Rome and propagated their opinions; but these do not seem to have had a disturbing influence on the steady progress of the organised Church. There was in fact so little Christianity in some of the Gnostic novelties, that the rulers and members of the Church could well

afford to ignore them. An exception was made in Marcion, who was probably in Rome in the middle of the second century. But Marcion, a truly remarkable man, was less of a philosopher than an earnest Christian, who held views inconsistent with those current in the Church. Of what happened to him we have no contemporary information. He seems to have perplexed the Roman presbyters by his searching questions as to the nature of God and to have been excommunicated. He founded a sect, famed for austerity of life and a readiness to suffer martyrdom, which won the reluctant admiration of the orthodox.

Two of the earliest characteristics of the early Roman Church which it has constantly displayed were a reluctance to take an active part in interfering with speculative opinions, which have little effect on practical religion and morality, and a determination to enforce order. It is perfectly reasonable to use the scanty materials we have in Acts, in the Petrine epistles, and, perhaps, in the Marcan gospel, to construct the figure of a man whom experience had developed into a wise, reasonable, and sagacious ruler. It was Peter who advised the choice of a twelfth apostle; and, though his name is not mentioned, the appointment of the Seven. In the story of the conversion of Cornelius he appears as open to conviction and conciliatory. Later at Jerusalem he is the first to support St. Paul's demand for Gentile liberty. Even at Antioch when Paul rebuked him, Peter may reasonably demand sympathy for his reluctance to offend James the Lord's brother by a display of impolitic consistency; for when saints or good men

differ there is usually something to be said on both sides.

The Petrine tradition is that of the Roman Church, manifested in the curious and long enduring dispute about the time of celebrating the Christian Passover (Easter). There were two traditions as to when the feast should be kept. To speak generally, the Asiatic Christians followed the Jewish practice, and with SS. Paul and John regarded the paschal festival of the church as occurring at the time when Christ the paschal lamb was slain, *i.e.*, on the day of the Crucifixion. (John XVIII: 28; I Cor. V: 7.) Rome and practically the rest of the Church looked on the Resurrection, which happened on the first day of the week, as the event to be commemorated, and therefore kept the Passover on Sunday.

The line taken by the Roman Church was characteristic. Anicetus realised that the matter was not one to cause division in the Church, since to observe festivals was no part of the original Christian faith; so he received the venerable Polycarp, the leading representative of Asia, and allowed him to take his place in presiding at the Eucharist. Victor, the thirteenth pope, took a more arbitrary line in trying to force the Asiatics to conform to Rome but in the matter of keeping the Passover. When, however, Irenæus, the bishop of Vienne in Gaul, himself an Asiatic, remonstrated, in the end the matter was dropped. In the whole affair the Roman see followed the example of Peter, but it does not seem that the authority of Peter, which was claimed at a later date, was here opposed to that of the Apostle John.

The affair of the Montanist teachers next occupied

the attention of the Roman Church; and it proves how closely the connection with the flourishing Christian community in Asia was maintained.

The history of Montanism in Phrygia, allowing for differences of time and place, is curiously like the rise of Quakerism in England. At the appearance of both, it seemed that a sudden burst of fanaticism based on ignorance and enthusiasm had threatened orderly Christianity. Frantic men and women came on the scene and declared their absurd ravings to be prophetic inspiration. Then it became evident that there was something genuine in the movement. The bishops of Phrygia tried to drive what they deemed to be the evil spirit out of these pretended prophets, but in vain. Able and earnest men joined the new sectaries. Like the Quakers, the Montanists were distinguished for their blameless lives. Their influence spread rapidly, till Montanist prophets reached Rome. Bishop Victor, evidently impressed by their sincerity, received them kindly.

In doctrine there was nothing to be said against them: they were violently anti-gnostic in their tenets. Tertullian, the great African Christian writer, espoused their opinions, and yet laboured to the end as the champion of orthodox Christianity. But he relates that a person, otherwise unknown, named Praxeas, came from Asia, and, though his own teaching about God and Christ was unsound, persuaded Victor that the tendencies of Montanism were dangerous to the peace of the Church and procured the disavowal of the new prophecy. Here again the Petrine spirit was manifested in the Roman Church in its insistence of order as essential to Christianity.

With Victor (189-199) the Roman see emerges into a fuller light of history, though that light is dim for some time yet. It is curious to observe that, despite the fact that all the early popes are credited with martyrdom by tradition, there are scarcely any records of persecution of the Roman Church. We have already noticed how vague they are regarding the so-called Neronian and Domitian persecution. In the days of Trajan, it is true, Ignatius of Antioch was exposed as a Christian to the beasts in the arena; but his letter to the Church shows that the Romans themselves were unmolested; and Justin Martyr in his *Acts* is represented as an independent Christian teacher residing by himself in the city. Down to the Decian persecution in the middle of the third century, banishment rather than death seems to have been the usual punishment in Rome. At any rate there are no such stories of martyrdom as those of Lyons and Vienne, of Perpetua and her companions, or of the savage persecution at Alexandria in the early days of Origen.

But for the discovery of Hippolytus as the author of the *Philosophumena* or *Philosophisings*, an attack on the Gnostic heresies, we should be apt to imagine that nothing of importance was happening among the Roman Christians at the beginning of the third century, except that some teachers had arisen who were condemned for their explanations of the Divine Nature of Christ. Even Tertullian, who was in constant touch with Rome, never so much as mentions the name of one of its bishops. All we should have known practically is that Irenæus had declared that the founders of the Church were the Apostles Peter

and Paul, that Gaius, in a dialogue with the Montanist Proclus, had said that the "trophies" of the two Apostles were on the Vatican and by the Ostian way, where Peter and Paul respectively had been martyred and buried, and that Tertullian and Origen had related that Peter was crucified, Origen adding, head downwards. That Peter and Paul were allowed to rest in their graves so long proves either that the Roman Christians were little molested by the government or that the veneration for the two founders of the Church did not yet extend to any cult of their remains.

Yet the evidence of the Catacombs outside Rome is overwhelmingly in support of the fact that the believers were very numerous, and belonged to every class of society, including many of the aristocracy of the City. The galleries in which the Christians buried their dead are to be measured by hundreds of miles and it is said that if drawn out they would extend from one end of Italy to the other. The decorations of the tombs must have been sometimes costly, and there must have been literally millions occupied by deceased Christians, certainly before the middle of the third century. By the end of the fourth this sort of burial had been discontinued.

Having so little to record, it is difficult to account for a church so large, so wealthy and so hospitable as the Roman one evidently was. The fact remains, however, that the story of Hippolytus is almost the only bit of internal evidence about the Roman Christians in the third century, almost all other information coming to us from outside.

Hippolytus is to us—and became soon after his

death—a very shadowy and at the same time important character in ecclesiastical history. He was a prolific writer and at Rome was honoured with a statue, on which a list of his different books and his cycle for determining Easter are inscribed. Eusebius knew him to be a bishop, but did not know where his see was situated. He is acknowledged as a saint and martyr; but the time, place, and facts of his sufferings are hopelessly confused. Since more has come to light concerning him, perplexity has increased rather than diminished. Was he a member of the Roman hierarchy, a sort of cardinal bishop of Portus, or the first of the antipopes, or a bishop without a defined see, or no more than a presbyter?

About the middle of the last century a part of a short treatise, hitherto ascribed to Origen, was found in a monastery on Mount Athos, and it acknowledged that the author was Hippolytus. The newly discovered manuscript related in part to a refutation of the opinions of Callistus who was bishop of Rome after Zephyrinus. It is evident that Hippolytus was a deadly enemy of this pope; he gives a scandalous account of his early days and of his being sent to the quarries of Sardinia sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who thoroughly disapproved of the Christians. On the death of that emperor, and the accession of his son Commodus (180), Callistus, who had been transported for felony, returned under the guise of a Christian confessor, and wormed himself into the confidence of the feeble bishop Zephyrinus, who gave him the highly honourable position as master of the cemetery now known as the *Catacomb of St. Calixtus;* for Callistus became pope, and like

Hippolytus he too attained the honours of martyrdom and canonization. The details of this most interesting episode may not detain us here. It is enough to record that later Hippolytus and Pope Pontianus were exiled to Sardinia, and probably died in 235.

What is important to us is that though St. Hippolytus became a highly honoured martyr, and was a most diligent if not original writer, there is no genuine Roman tradition concerning him, and what fame he had was not in Italy but in the East, for he is the last Roman theologian who wrote in Greek.[1] After his days the Latin element seems to have become predominant in the Church which had previously been almost exclusively (if we except Victor) Hellenic. This may partly account for the disappearance of early Roman tradition, and explains why, in the words of Bishop Lightfoot, "The internal history of the Church of Rome is shrouded in thick darkness from the end of the first century to the beginning of the third, from the age of Clement to the age of Hippolytus scarcely a ray here and there penetrating the dense cloud." This may well make us careful not to dogmatise about the silence of that Church concerning St. Peter.

The life of St. Cyprian, the great bishop of Carthage, brings the Church of Rome into strong relief once more. In 249 Philip the Arabian, who is by some credited with having been a Christian, was succeeded as emperor by Decius Trajanus, a Roman of

[1] The so-called "Egyptian Church Order" of Hippolytus, is, according to Dom Connolly, a Roman document giving the usages of the Church in the early third century, which has been recovered not in Rome but in Egypt.

the old school who restored the censorship and resolved to bring back the discipline, the austerity, and the religion of the ancient Republic. In pursuance of this design he resolved not to annoy the Christians, as his predecessors had done, but to annihilate the Christian religion.

Instead of ordering the Christian to be sought out, Decius forced every inhabitant of the Empire to sacrifice and to obtain a certificate that he had done so. Many Christians apostatised; some evaded the edict by bribing the officials; a minority, but a considerable one, preferred to accept the consequences. Two successive popes, Fabian and Cornelius, were martyred. Already the Roman Church was of such importance that Decius is said to have declared that he would rather see a rival emperor than a bishop of Rome. The persecution was renewed when Valerian, whom Decius had made censor, became emperor and it was so fierce in the following year that the Christians, fearing that the tombs of their great founders, Peter and Paul, might be violated, resolved to remove the bodies which had been buried near the places of their respective martyrdoms to a place known as *Ad Catacumbas*. The day of the translation of the remains of the two Apostles is said to have been "the third before the Kalends of July (*i.e.*, June 29th) in the consulship of Bassus and Tuscus (258)." The day is celebrated in the Church as the great feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

Thus by the middle of the third century it was firmly believed at Rome that the Church possessed the bodies of its two founders, evidently objects of veneration; since even in Tertullian's day the tombs

of martyrs were frequented, and the burial places of Christians were chosen for the devotions of the faithful to such an extent that a demand had arisen to permit Christian cemeteries no more. *Areæ non sint* was the popular cry. This the Decian persecution endeavoured to enforce; though hitherto the Roman government, with its characteristic respect for the rights of sepulchre, had left the catacombs intact.

But serious difficulties are involved in the story of the removal of the Apostles. The accounts are contradictory, and the earliest record is A. D. 354—well nigh a century later than the event. It must be owned that, despite our lack of other satisfactory evidence for the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul at Rome, the fact of its being believed that they were actually buried there is difficult to account for. It would be fatal to the argument from silence if it could be shown that the removal to the Catacombs in 258 was demonstrable by contemporary evidence; but after Constantine, Christianity underwent, less in doctrine than in practice, a startling change that compels us to look with care to the value of tradition current in the fourth century. Still there can be little doubt that, by the persecutions of the third century, portraits of Peter and Paul were in existence in Rome which we have good reason to believe may have resembled the Apostles.

After the martyrdom of St. Cyprian in 258, the Roman popes till the peace of the Church appear little save in lists. They need claim no attention from us till 326, the year of Constantine's visit to Rome in the days of Silvester (314-335). The Emperor was only in the City from June to September, and

his visit alienated the sympathy of the Roman people, and was followed by a dark and mysterious conspiracy, in which his son Crispus and his wife Faustina are reported to have suffered death; but it is noteworthy that the two contemporary authorities, Eusebius and Evodius, do not so much as mention this Roman visit. Later it gave rise to the story of Silvester's being presented with the Lateran Palace, which became the papal residence, and its church, dedicated to St. John Baptist, the Cathedral of Rome.

In addition to St. John Lateran, Constantine is credited with the erection of the churches St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Lorenzo, St. Agnes, all without the walls, and of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. This visit to Rome is connected with the famous but highly apocryphal legend of the donation of all the West to Silvester, upon the pope's healing the Emperor of his leprosy at his baptism. In this, however, there is one touch which is significant: Silvester is said to have shown Constantine the pictures of Peter and Paul, whom he immediately recognised as the two venerable personages who had appeared to him and bidden him to send for Silvester.

Soon after the Emperor's visit to Rome, his aged mother St. Helena made her famous pilgrimage to Jerusalem, during which, according to later legend, miracles which revealed the true Cross occurred. Churches were built on the sites of the Passion and Resurrection, of the Ascension, of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The nails which had pierced the hands and feet of the Saviour were sent to the emperor who used them as protective charms. On all sides fresh sacred places and new relics of the saints of old were

being disclosed; and, whilst the theologians were debating the highest mysteries with much subtlety and intellectual acuteness, a very different sort of Christianity from that of the Creeds was being developed. The popular faith was rapidly becoming one of sacred spots, of wonder-working relics, of a hierarchy of saints, each varying in his power in Heaven, but all ready to act as intermediaries for sinners. A stream of pilgrims set in towards Jerusalem and soon another was in motion in the direction of Rome, crowded as it was with relics of the martyrs, and, above all, as the scene of the labours, suffering and burial of the great Apostles Peter and Paul.

The early history of the great Church of Rome is indeed disappointing. Of its importance there can be no doubt; but by some curious fatality, not a single outstanding name is connected with it. No native writer comes forward to give its traditions the weight of contemporary authority. Its many inscriptions supply us with material for inference rather than with definite facts. Even the *Liber Pontificalis*, a later work which gives us all the writers knew of the popes, tells us practically nothing of any before Silvester. The silence regarding St. Peter is therefore more regrettable than unaccountable; and we have now to show how he gradually appears almost in solitary grandeur, for even the Apostle Paul falls into the background when Peter begins to rule in Rome.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Spirit of Peter in Rome

ALTHOUGH the promise of Jesus to Peter, when the Apostle confessed him to be the Christ, was part of St. Matthew's Gospel from the first, it does not seem to have attracted much notice till towards the middle of the third century. The two most famous writers who first commented upon it were Origen, the Alexandrian teacher, and Cyprian bishop of Carthage. In his Homily on Matthew XVI: 13 Origen remarks, "for every disciple of Christ is a rock, from whom all they that partake of the spiritual rock which follows did drink; and upon every such rock the whole doctrine of the Church and the polity in accordance therewith is built. . . . But if thou supposest that the whole church is built by God on that one Peter alone, what wouldest thou say concerning John the Son of Thunder, or any one of the Apostles? Otherwise shall we dare to say that against Peter especially the gates of hell shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the remaining Apostles? . . . Are then the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone and shall none other of the blessed Apostles receive them? &c."

Treating of the unity of the Church, Cyprian says that to emphasise the essential oneness of His Church, Christ promised that it should be built on Peter. But this does not mean that equal authority

is not given to all the Apostles, for He said, "As my Father sent me even so send I you; whose soever sins ye remit, etc." It does not seem to have occurred to either Origen or Cyprian that Peter meant the bishop of the Roman Church. How this came to be claimed, now demands attention.

It is curious to note that as the legends of Peter in Rome arose in the East, so the interpretation of Matthew XVI comes from Africa. There can be no greater mistake than for the Church historian to impute selfish or interested motives as the origin of every development in belief or practice. They were almost invariably called forth by circumstances; and Roman ambition was assuredly not the reason for identifying the claims of Peter with those of the Roman bishop. One cause seems to have been the Donatist schism in the African Church. This was a curiously unedifying dispute, arising out of the Diocletian persecution. A party was formed at Carthage to resist the election of the Archdeacon Cæcilian. Being unable to prevent it, they declared that he was no bishop, because his consecrator had surrendered the Scriptures to the heathen in the days of persecution, and as a traitor he could not consecrate any one, and therefore Cæcilian's ordination was invalid. The discontented Christians of Carthage appealed to Constantine, who referred the matter to Miltiades, bishop of Rome. When they appealed against the decision in favour of Cæcilian, a council of bishops met by command of the Emperor at Arles in Gaul. This decided against the appellants, who now, under the name of Donatists, separated from the other Christians, declaring they were the true Church.

About fifty years after the schism a certain Optatus of Milevis, a Catholic, had a dispute with the Donatist Parmenian. One of his arguments was that, as Parmenian was not in communion with Rome, he was not within the Church which Christ had founded, and in support of this he quoted the promise to Peter. Optatus wrote against Parmenian, bishop of the Donatist faction in Carthage, about 363, and in his second book he deals with the five gifts of the Church, the first of which is the Chair of Peter. This in Cyprian had meant the Episcopate, which represented the Apostolate, Peter being its chief and the symbol of unity, but not the monopolist of its privileges. But Optatus connects the Chair of Peter with Rome unmistakably, and the Roman Church was at this period rising rapidly and deservedly in the estimation of the entire Christian world.

Apart from the theological question, the Arian controversy had not redounded to the credit of the Eastern Church. The council of Nicæa, at which the oriental bishops were almost exclusively represented, had been followed by a series of intrigues, which did not enhance their prestige. They had agreed as to the formula of doctrine accepted by the Council, and then did all in their power to set it aside. They had driven the orthodox patriarch from the See of Antioch, and persecuted Athanasius for his loyalty to the creed of the great council with relentless animosity. They had proposed a series of credal statements, often at the dictation of the shifty and vacillating Emperor Constantius. The Roman See had displayed consistency and impartiality, especially under Julius (335-352), who proved himself a loyal friend

of the great Athanasius; and if Liberius (352-366) showed temporary weakness, he soon rallied to the Nicene creed, and died in the odour of sanctity. The next pope was Damasus, whose pontificate of eighteen years (366-384) contributed greatly to the glory of Rome as a centre of Christian devotion and incidentally to the honour of St. Peter.

Before the death of Liberius (366), St. Jerome tells us that when he and his friend Bonosus were studying rhetoric in Rome, they used on Sundays to visit the tombs of the martyrs. This cult was given a great impetus under Damasus, who devoted much thought and money to the restoration of the already disused catacombs.

Two things are noticeable in the pontificate of Damasus. Rome, having ceased to be the capital of the world, was beginning to be regarded by pagan and Christian alike as a holy city, and the see was already extremely wealthy.

Damasus was chosen after a disputed election, a powerful faction supporting his rival Ursinus. No longer did the trembling Christians meet in obscurity to select as a bishop one who jeopardised his life by accepting that perilous position. The whole city watched with anxious expectation for the lucky candidate who should win so rich a prize. The opposing parties fought the battle in the streets of Rome, not without bloodshed. But Pope Damasus made excellent use of his wealth. He repaired the catacombs, restored the tombs of the martyrs, and, finding that the water was destroying their places of sepulchre on the Vatican, he diverted it at great expense to form a baptistery for St. Peter's. His inscriptions testify

to his zeal for the honour of the martyrs and his engraved verses to his taste and scholarship. Under him the Christian saints and martyrs began to displace the gods of ancient Rome. It is remarkable that, before the Peace of the Church the Christians of Rome met in places called after the name of their owners, and afterwards in churches dedicated to saints. But of the six churches ascribed by tradition to Constantine, not one was in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

With the increasing reverence for the Roman saints, stimulated by the liberality of Damasus, that of Peter naturally increased and, if the tombs of lesser martyrs were objects of veneration, his and that of Paul were specially honoured by the spacious churches which enclosed them. At the same time Peter increased, as Paul decreased, till the Prince of the Apostles completely outshines the other founder of the Roman Church.

In 410 Alaric took the city, and its worldly fame after that disaster rapidly declined. Still more ruinous was the more brutal sack of Rome by the Vandal Gaiseric in 455; but as Rome's prosperity was vanishing it became increasingly evident that the hope of its future lay in its Church and bishop. Siricius, the successor of Damasus, is addressed by the clergy of Milan in 390 as the Successor of Peter to whom Christ committed the care of His flock. Fifty years later a pope was to arise to declare his right to preside over the whole Church in the name of the Apostle. But in the meantime the claim to rule in the name of Peter is insisted on by Innocent I, the successor to Siricius, who maintained that all churches

in Italy, Sicily, Africa, Gaul, and even Spain, were founded by Peter or his successors. Nor can this right to rule in the name of Peter correctly be described as a claim, for no one disputed it any more than the fact of the martyrdom at Rome. It was assumed as a matter of course. Paul at least might have been credited with Spain; but he is not. Perhaps it is hardly too much to say that in the mind of the age the historical Apostle is almost forgotten and an ideal Peter had become incarnate in the Roman Church and its mighty bishop, the patriarch of the West.

The wearisome controversies about the human and divine natures of the Saviour were in full force in the pontificate of Celestine (422-432). Nestorius of Constantinople was being accused of heresy by Cyril bishop of Alexandria, and both prelates were anxious for the support of Rome. In justice to the Popes it must be admitted that they rose superior in every respect to the oriental bishops, who showed more interest in theology than in conduct, and were animated by mutual animosities. Possibly from the very fact that the Western Christians never really understood the minute points of a discussion conducted in Greek, with which language they were unfamiliar, they were able to maintain a position of neutrality greatly to the advantage of the Roman Chair; since, by holding the balance between rival factions, it became the real arbiter. At the Council of Ephesus the bishops appealed to Celestine as to Peter, thus fully admitting the Apostolic primacy of Rome. As the controversy became more and more embittered, Celestine's next successor but one, Leo

the Great (440-461), assumed a position of unquestioned leadership.

Leo was the embodiment of those virtues which had made Rome the mistress of the world. Whilst the ancient *imperium* in the Western Empire was rapidly becoming the shadow of a shade, he was raising up a spiritual empire destined to endure for centuries. He tolerated no questioning of the authority of his chair, even on the part of a saint like Hilary of Arles. He assumed the government of the entire Church of the West, including Ireland. In the East he took the Church of Constantinople under his protection and brought down the pride of the great patriarch of Alexandria. He brushed aside all the subtleties of the controversies about the Two Natures of Christ by issuing his famous Tome on the basis of Scripture and the creed of the Roman Church; and when the orientals under the presidency of Dioscorus of Alexandria disregarded his settlement of the question, he branded the great assembly at Ephesus in 449 as no Council but a *Latrocinium*, or a den of robbers. Two years later his representatives at the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon (451) made the decision of Leo the verdict of the Universal Church.

Though Leo repaired the church of St. Peter and is said to have decorated St. Paul's with a mosaic representing the adoration of the four and twenty elders, he cannot be said to have contributed in any way to the increasing reverence for sacred relics. Indeed his sermons are marked by an austere type of Christian religion and morals. Christ, not the saints, is the theme of his discourses, and the inculca-

tion of the virtues of the Gospel his chief aim. Thus to Leo, Peter is not so much the patron saint of Rome, as the source of the authority committed to the Church. Peter governs all by his office, and Christ by his supreme authority. The great pope speaks as one conscious of his own infirmity as a man; but, as holding Peter's office, he claims the right to be obeyed by all. As Mark was the disciple of Peter and founded the church of Alexandria, its bishops must be in complete accord with the Church of their Master. The Roman Church owes nothing to the secular importance of the City. There is one measure (*ratio*) of things spiritual, another of things secular.

Such then is Leo's claim for Roman supremacy, nor was it disputed. The Council of Chalcedon deprived Dioscorus by the authority "of the archbishop of the great and elder Rome, who through us and through the holy synod now present, together with . . . the Apostle Peter who is the Rock, has stripped Dioscorus of his dignity."

We may now pass over more than a century, crowded with war and disaster, to the days of that good and great man Pope Gregory the Great, who combined in his unique personality the characteristics of a Christian saint, the virtues of a devoted monk, and the elevation of a true statesman, combined with genuine kindness to all men, the administrative ability of an ancient Roman, and, it must be added, the superstition of the mediæval age. One of the strangest exhibitions of this weakness is Gregory's curious letter to Constantina, the wife of the emperor Mauricius. She desired to found a church in Constanti-

nople, and requested the pope to send her no less a relic than the head of St. Paul. Considering the attitude of the Emperors towards the Papacy at this time, the request was as dangerous to refuse as it was impossible to comply with. Gregory accordingly explains to the Empress that the two great Apostles were still exceedingly jealous of interference and fully able to defend themselves. It was only at considerable risk that alterations could be undertaken even when imperatively required. Gregory himself hesitated to interfere with the ground near the sacred body of Paul, and when his predecessor Pelagius II (579-590) "was anxious to change the silver which was above the body of the blessed apostle St. Peter, a sign of no little dread appeared to him when he was within fifteen feet of the body." This implies that the twin founders of the Roman Church were now regarded almost in the light of tutelary deities, guarding their tombs from profanation with the tremendous spiritual powers with which they were invested.

But no Englishman can speak other than tenderly even of the weaknesses of so great a benefactor to his country as St. Gregory the Great. In his *Dialogues*—a perfect storehouse of supernatural happenings—he explains that he was sitting in the papal gardens weary and depressed, and that the deacon Peter, the supposed narrator, comes and bewails the hopelessness of a God-forsaken world. Whereupon Gregory tells him that things are better than people suppose, and begins to relate all the wonders God has wrought in his own times. Can we then be surprised that when the Lombards were thundering at

the gates of Rome, and the futile emperor was unable to send help, the good bishop placed his faith in the unseen, and believed that Peter and Paul were still able to protect the City in which they had shed their blood?

Here, however, we may digress a little, and speak of the two famous churches in which the two Apostles' mortal remains reposed. Neither of these was an artistic triumph; nor could they compare with the church of Holy Wisdom (S. Sophia), which the genius of Justinian had raised in New Rome, and is still, though converted into a mosque, the glory of Constantinople. In beauty they were vastly inferior to the Christian temples, raised by the piety of the later middle ages, in Seville, Canterbury, Chartres, Rheims, Cologne, Amiens or Durham. St. Paul's stood unchanged till the fire in 1823, when it was rebuilt with rare piety and regard for antiquity in its original form. St. Peter's was taken down and in its place the greatest church in Christendom was erected, a monument of the art, the skill, the grandeur of conception of the Papacy in the days of the pagan splendour of the Renaissance. But old St. Peter's, if not the most beautiful, was the most interesting and historic church on earth.

The two churches, as has been already remarked, were outside the City walls, and St. Peter's was on the Vatican Hill beyond the Tiber. The pope dwelt at the other end of the city, which he had to cross to visit St. Peter's. The district of the Vatican used to be occupied by the gardens of Nero, and by his circus which had been begun by Caligula. In the gardens the Christians accused of burning Rome were

tortured by Nero's orders; and Peter is said to have been crucified in the circus "*inter duas metas*" between the two turning posts. The church was what is called a *basilica*, a nave separated from the main wall by a row of columns leaving space for the aisles. At the end was an apse with a *tribunal* or raised platform used by the judges and now occupied by the Altar, beneath which the body of the Saint reposed. This was the holiest spot in the West, and here pilgrims were wont to pray. We have a most curious description of how they did so in the writings of another Gregory, the historian bishop of Tours, a contemporary of the great pope, whose deacon Agiulphus visited Rome, and gives a description of their devotions.

If a pilgrim wished to pray, the doors of what was known as the "Confession" were opened and he entered a little chamber in which he could kneel and by putting his head through a small window could see the tomb. If he desired a memento he lowered a handkerchief which had been previously weighed in the tomb. Should he be deemed worthy, when he received it back, it was so filled with divine virtue as to weigh much more. Some exchanged the iron keys by which they had been admitted for ones of equal weight in gold, and the iron had great efficacy in healing diseases.

Strangely enough, though old St. Peter's was still standing in the fifteenth century, we have little information as to its actual appearance. It seems to have been about 340 feet in length, not nearly equal to a great northern cathedral. The only picture of the interior belongs to the middle of the fifteenth

century and its outlines are neither beautiful nor impressive. Nor can it be said that it had even the merit of being particularly substantial. Constantine had a due regard to economy when he built it. It may safely be said that it is not the sort of basilica Hadrian would have erected, had he decided to patronise the Christian faith two centuries earlier.

Gregory found St. Peter no small stay in his contest with the bishop of Constantinople. It must never be forgotten that, whilst the Rome of the sixth century was half-deserted—falling into decay and no longer the centre of the poor remnant of the empire in Italy—Constantinople, or new Rome, was at the height of its prosperity, the centre of the empire and of the trade of the Mediterranean. No wonder its bishop, John the Faster, declared himself to be the Bishop of the World (*œcumenical bishop*). Gregory was far too great a man to consider his own personal dignity and too wise a statesman to declare that Constantinople was trying to claim ecclesiastical authority over the Roman Church. He regards this pompous claim as blasphemous and an insult to Christian humility. At the same time he asserts that, although the Council of Chalcedon had conceded this honour to the see of Peter, its bishop did not assume a title so injurious to the Christian priesthood, and he calls on two eastern patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, who owed their dignity to St. Peter, to join with him in vindicating the honour of the Apostle.

The eighth century is one of the heroic ages of the Papacy. In their contests with the Emperors in Constantinople, and the Lombards in Italy, the popes

showed both courage and initiative, and the coronation of Charles the Great was the culmination of a century's struggle in the face of apparently overwhelming odds. Here the spirit of Peter is abundantly manifested in such popes as Gregory II (715-731), Gregory III (731-741), both worthy of the name they bore, and Zacharias (741-752).

It was the so-called Iconoclastic controversy which ruined the imperial authority in Italy.

In 717 the Saracens well nigh put an end to the Roman empire by almost capturing Constantinople, but after a long siege they were forced to retire in discomfiture. But Leo the Isaurian, the emperor who delivered the imperial city, was in his turn influenced by the religion of Islam, which, in its original purity, had some advantage over the Christianity it had supplanted.

Between the middle of the fifth century and the beginning of the eighth Christianity had become almost a thinly disguised idolatry. God, it is true, was admittedly reigning in heaven; but saints and angels were His deputies on earth. Not only so but their images and pictures, as well as the relics of the martyrs, had each one its peculiar power to heal and help. No wonder that the soldiers of the Empire who, even in war, were in touch with the Moslems, felt the reproach from those stern enemies of idolatry, that as Christians they had degenerated into paganism. Leo, imbued with the spirit of his army, resolved to reform the Church. The images or pictures were destroyed, the visible symbols of Christianity, including the Cross, pulled down and believers ordered to worship the Trinity in Unity alone. Leo went so

far as to threaten to destroy the venerable statue of St. Peter at Rome. This figure of the Apostle, seated in his chair, holding in his hand the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, was already at least two centuries old, and in its impressive dignity bears testimony to the honour in which he was held in Rome. The indignation of Gregory II is shown in his letter to the Emperor, and reveals somewhat of the ignorance of the Roman Church. The Old Testament is ransacked for justification for Christians honouring images, and the impious Uzziah is quoted as an example of how God punished a king who destroyed "the brazen serpent which Moses had made"! But Gregory was showing himself in Italy as a wise and prudent pontiff, and it was to his selection of the Englishman St. Boniface that the Germans owed their Christianity. His opposition to Leo resulted indirectly in the loss of all northern Italy to the Empire. Ravenna fell before the Lombards about 754 and Rome was no more dominated by Constantinople.

About this time Peter appears in a new light, as the protector of the territorial rights of his successors. The popes now demand the intervention of the Franks, and are beginning to hope for independent sovereignty over the lands once ruled by the exarchs of Ravenna. Thrice did Stephen II (752-757) appeal to Pepin, now King of the Franks, to come to Italy to deliver him from Lombard tyranny. As his letters were of no avail, Pepin received one from St. Peter himself. The Apostle and the Mother of God order the Franks to come and help his Romans. All the prosperity of Pepin and his

house are due to him; for he has always loved them. But if they presume to disobey, misfortune will attend them in this world, and damnation with the pestilential angels in the next. Pepin obeyed and thus laid the foundation of the Temporal Power. Ancient Latium became the *Patrimonium Petri.*

The spirit of Peter has now triumphed and from henceforward his leadership of the Roman Church is unquestioned. But one scene more was needed to complete the work. On Christmas Day 800 in the temple of Peter at the altar raised over his tomb, Leo III bestowed the imperial diadem on Charles King of the Franks. No longer as a barbarian king but as a Roman Emperor Charles the Great converted his vast realm into the *orbis terrarum* when he and all who acknowledged him became Romans under the temporal authority of the successor of Augustus, Prince of the Senate, and the spiritual rule of the successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Peter in England

The mission of Augustine, sent by Gregory the Great to the Teutonic conquerors of Britain, may justly be reckoned as one of the most important exploits of the see of St. Peter. Still it must not be forgotten that if the English were won to the faith under Gregory, the Irish, or Scots as they were then called, were converted under Leo the Great more than a century earlier. To the missionaries of both races the inclusion of the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations was chiefly due, as first Irish, and then English monks, were the great pioneers of the faith during the seventh and eighth centuries, when throughout Europe they were to be found penetrating into its deepest forests and most inaccessible marshes in order to spread the gospel to the heathen. England was in a peculiar sense a papal domain, and its inhabitants did not forget their debt to Gregory, "our father who sent us baptism," as one council described him.

The Roman Church claimed—certainly before the time of Gregory the Great, but probably in the same century—that Christianity had come to Britain from Eleutherus who was its bishop about 171. A native king named Lucius had requested that the pope would send him missionaries to convert his people, and Bede says that a church was founded which enjoyed immunity from persecution till the days of

ENGLAND

Ancient Churches or Monasteries dedicated to St Peter, SS Peter and Paul, or St Paul.

A_Abbey
C_Cathedral
AC_Abbey made a Cathedral
BA_Bishop's see later an Abbey
PP_SS Peter and Paul
Pa_St Paul only
Pe_St Peter only

Diocletian (284-304). Other details are added by later writers but the whole story is largely legendary. Still the cathedral of Llandaff, where the Welsh chroniclers place King Lucius, is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul to mark its connection with the Roman Church. The very early British writer, Gildas, who wrote before the mission of Gregory, blames the degenerate bishops for disgracing the chair of Peter in which they sat.

Augustine and his companions, the monks of St. Andrew on the Cœlian Hill in Rome, felt that their mission was inspired by the spirit of Peter; for Gregory the Great in his letters to the old Eastern patriarchates attributes the foundation of all the episcopate, at any rate mediately through its leading sees, to the Prince of the Apostles, in a measure, at any rate, agreeing with St. Cyprian, and what is said by Gildas. It is indeed remarkable to notice that in England from the earliest days gratitude was shown to Rome for its work in evangelising the people by the erection of bishop's cathedrals and monasteries dedicated to St. Peter, or to SS. Peter and Paul. Paulinus, the apostle of the North, built his primatial church at York in honour of St. Peter, and Wilfrid founded at Ripon the venerable church, which almost in our days became a cathedral, and placed it under the patronage of the Prince of the Apostles. The cathedral church at Winchester is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. Exeter later became the see of St. Peter. The abbey of Medehampstede has been converted into the cathedral of Peterborough. When Augustine came to Canterbury he dedicated his Church to Christ, but also built

one in which he and his successors as well as the royal family of Kent were to be buried in the name of Peter and Paul. Near to London, already a place of some commercial importance, in the dreary marsh of Thorney, Sabert the king had founded a monastery, later known as Westminster, where he himself was buried; and it became the place of sepulchre of some of the most illustrious men this world has ever known, being the Abbey Church of St. Peter. Almost if not contemporary with St. Augustine, was the Welsh bishop, St. Teilo, whose church at Llandaff was later, as has been shown, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.

There was yet another St. Peter's monastery, the fame of which was not destined to endure; but it was in early days second to none in Britain and, as will be related later, was the scene of a singular vindication of the honour of its patron. This was the foundation of St. Hilda, a lady of the royal house of Northumbria, who retired with her company of monks and nuns to what was then known as Streaneshalch—now called by the Danish name of Whitby.

Few if any countries can boast of four cathedral churches of St. Peter, and two, if we include Llandaff, in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, all carrying one back to the sixth or seventh century of our era. In addition to this, London's cathedral was built in honour of St. Paul, and the most famous abbey in its vicinity bears the name of St. Peter. York, Winchester, Peterborough, Ripon, Exeter, Llandaff, Westminster Abbey, and London, are standing wit-

nesses to the veneration in which the founders of the Roman Church were held in England.

But not only was the memory of Peter held in veneration by the English: it was believed that the Apostle himself showed an interest in their conversion. In 616 Ethelbert, the king of Kent who had welcomed Augustine, and Sabert, who had established the church in London, both died, and their successors apostatised. The Christian preachers from Rome prepared to flee: and even Archbishop Laurentius resolved to leave Canterbury. He ordered his bed to be placed the night before his intended departure in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul which Augustine had built. In the silence of the night a visitor came to him. In Bede's words "When Laurentius was about to follow Mellitus and Justus and to leave Brittania (*sic*) he ordered a bed to be prepared for him in the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, of which we have already often spoken. In it he made many prayers and shed tears unto the Lord for the state of the Church, and afterwards composed his limbs to rest and fell asleep. Then it was that most blessed Prince of the Apostles appeared to him, and for a long while inflicted many blows on him in the darkness of the night, and repeatedly asked him with apostolic severity why he was leaving the flock which he (Peter) had committed to him, or to which of the shepherds would he, if he fled, commit the sheep of Christ placed as they were in the midst of wolves. 'Hast thou,' he said, 'forgotten my example, who for Christ's little ones, which He had commended to me in proof of His love, bore chains, blows, imprisonment, afflic-

tions at the hands of the enemies of Christ and at last death, even the death of the Cross, who am myself to be crowned with Christ?' Thus was Laurentius, the servant of Christ, aroused by the blows and exhortations of Peter, and as soon as it was day he went to the King and drawing back his garment showed how wounded he was by the stripes. And the king was much amazed and enquired who dared inflict such blows on so eminent a man; but when he heard that for his salvation the bishop had endured such blows and suffering from the Apostle of Christ, he feared greatly, and cursed all worship of idols, and gave up unlawful marriage, and accepted Christ's faith, and was baptised, and took care to advance the cause of the Church as much as he could in every way." (*Eccl. Hist.* II: 6.)

The same story is told of others besides Laurentius, but the stripes are usually inflicted by angels. Here, however, St. Peter appears as the invisible leader of the Roman missionaries among the English and, in their minds, as the story indicates, he must have been constantly by their side to encourage as well as rebuke.

A more doubtful example of the appearance of Peter is also recorded by Bede, but it was only in a later age that the unknown stranger of the historian became no less than the Apostle himself.

Paulinus, one of the missionaries sent from Rome to Canterbury, had been ordained bishop and despatched to Edwin, King of Northumbria, to take care of the Kentish princess Ethelberg, the wife of Edwin. For a long time Edwin refused to become a Christian; and Paulinus at last reminded the King

of an "oracle" which he had long ago received and had pledged himself to obey when it should prove to be true. He had been driven out of his dominions and had taken refuge with Redwald King of East Anglia. Redwald was offered a large bribe to betray his guest. Edwin knew this and retired to a solitary place by night when a man appeared to him and told him that he knew the cause of his sadness. The unknown then bade the fugitive be of good cheer for he should recover his kingdom and no king should be greater than he. But he made Edwin promise that when this came to pass he would obey, giving him a sign and vanishing from sight that it might be known that "no man had appeared but a spirit". Paulinus laid his hand on Edwin's head as his mysterious visitor had done with the result that he assembled the Northumbrians, and consented with them to accept baptism.

Although nothing is related by Bede, later generations believed that Edwin had seen St. Peter himself; and this view may be confirmed by the fact that the first Church built in York was in honour of St. Peter.

After the death of Edwin and the great apostasy of Northumbria in 633, its King, St. Oswald, restored Christianity by calling in the Scotic (or Irish missionaries) from Iona. St. Aidan now became the bishop of northern England, and as was customary with Celtic Christians fixed his see in the remote island of Lindisfarne. The Church there was at a later date dedicated to St. Peter, the acknowledged head of all preachers of the Gospel.

Owing to this Celtic mission, the Church of Brit-

ain was divided, not on doctrine, but on matters of observance, and notably as to the date of the Easter festival. In this controversy the authority of Peter was asserted in a remarkable manner.

Teutonic Britain was first approached by Christian missionaries from Rome; but the work of conversion was supplemented by the labours of the Scotic preachers from Iona. When the two churches, the Roman and the Celtic, came into contact in the island, it became evident that differences existed between them, not of doctrine but of practice. These, nevertheless, were sufficiently serious to cause division and their adjustment demanded care and consideration. Here only one needs require our attention, namely, the very complicated question as to the date of the observance of the Christian Passover or Easter. To men of our day this seems a trivial matter, but it was not so in the seventh century, when men considered it one of vital importance.

From the very first Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentile birth, observed the feast of the Passover, which had become additionally holy to them because it was the season of the Passion and Resurrection of their Lord. To Pope Victor's attempt to secure uniformity allusion has already been made. The Church decided in his favour at the Council of Nicæa (325); and Quarto-decimanism, or the keeping of Easter on the fourteenth day of the Moon, irrespective of the day of the week, was forbidden. It was not so easy even then to decide on what Sunday Easter Day ought to fall, and the calculation was entrusted to the Bishop of Alexandria, who notified

in advance the other churches when the Christian Passover should be celebrated.

In process of time cycles were devised to determine the calendar; and when the Celtic Christians in the British Isles were able to be once more in contact with their Roman brethren, they found that they were not using the same cycle. The British also maintained that the true tradition compelled them to reckon the fourteenth day of the moon, if it happened to be a Sunday, as Easter, whereas the Romans declared that the proper day was on a Sunday after the fourteenth day. As a rule Easter fell on the same day for both; but, when it did not, it was a fertile cause of dispute. The Romans claimed the authority of Peter for their practice, the Celts that of John. National partiality made this unimportant difference with some others a burning question. Was the Celtic Church, which had remained so faithful in isolation, and had won such a great reputation alike for its erudition and piety, to submit to the dictation of foreigners?

A young Northumbrian, named Wilfrid, was the main instrument in bringing about the adoption of the rule of Peter in regard to Easter by the English. He was born of wealthy parents in 634, the year following the apostasy of his people. Educated by the Celtic monks of the north, he felt an irresistible desire to see the world. He studied for a while with the Roman missionaries at Canterbury and crossed over to Europe, reaching Rome after an adventurous journey. There he was instructed in the customs and discipline of the Church, and was deeply impressed by the grandeur of the Roman see. He returned to

Northumbria enthusiastic for the civilisation of his people, expressing this enthusiasm by the introduction of the arts, the methods, and the devotion of the Mother Church. He testified his zeal by dedicating his monastery at Ripon to St. Peter; and his friend Benedict Biscop with equal enthusiasm founded two religious houses at the mouth of the Tyne—Wearmouth in honour of St. Peter, and Jarrow, later the home of the Venerable Bede, in that of St. Paul.

In 664 King Oswy held a national synod in St. Hilda's monastery to decide the question as to the Roman Easter, on which the conformity of his people with Roman or Celtic Christianity really depended.

Colman, the Celtic bishop from Lindisfarne, pleaded for his ancestral custom urging the authority of St. John in support of his observance of Easter. When he had concluded, King Oswy asked Agilbert, who had been bishop among the West Saxons and was afterwards bishop of Paris, to speak in favour of the Roman usage. But Agilbert declared that he could not address the assembly except through an interpreter, and deputed Wilfrid to speak for him. The debate, if Bede has not put his own arguments into the speakers' mouths, revealed not a little uncritical learning and acuteness and ended quite dramatically. Colman had appealed to Columba, and Wilfrid concluded his speech thus:

> "For if your fathers were holy, are they who are a minority in one corner of this island to be preferred to the church universal in all the world?

> And if your Columba, I had rather say ours, for he was Christ's, was a saint, can he be preferred to the most blessed chief of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of heaven?' "

As Wilfrid was ending his speech the king exclaimed, " 'Were these words, Colman, really spoken by the Lord?' 'Yea,' said he. 'Can you then profess that any such power was bestowed on your Columba?' 'Nay,' he replied. The king answered and said, 'Do you both agree that this was said chiefly to Peter, and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to him?' Both answered, 'It is so.' Then the king summed up, 'I tell you he is the porter and I will not oppose him, but as far as my knowledge and power goes I wish in all things to obey his statutes; lest perchance when I come to the gates of the Kingdom there may be none to unbar them, if he to whom the keys are entrusted is my adversary.' " (*Eccl. Hist.* III: 25).

The Venerable Bede tells the story with no little skill. Oswy was not interested in Wilfrid's elaborate arguments from Scripture and history, nor with Colman's learned appeals to the canon of Anatolius; but the king perfectly understood the glorified St. Peter as guardian of the portals of heaven, and it is this Peter who figures in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Another important factor in the growing influence of Peter among the English was the impulse which

drove them as pilgrims to his Roman shrine. When we consider the perils of the journey, we can estimate the power which attracted such men as Benedict Biscop to visit Rome five or six times in their lives. First monks and churchmen flocked Romewards; but soon kings and princes followed their example, too glad of the privilege of dying in the city of the Apostles.

The English at this early period were, of course, drawn to honour Peter because to them Roman rather than Celtic Christianity, to which they owed so much, seemed the source alike of their faith and civilisation. Yet it may not be out of place to remark that the character of the Apostle as revealed to us is attractive to the people who paid him so much honour. Impulsive and energetic, a man of action rather than reflexion, not naturally gifted, but possessing the valuable quality of learning by experience, able to take the lead because he understood the wisdom of charitable expediency, Peter represents alike the virtues and the failings of men well qualified to lead and rule, not for their own benefit but for that of their fellow men.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Peter in the Christian World

THE object of this chapter is to indicate the position of Peter in the Christian world outside Rome. Special attention has been already paid to Teutonic Britain, because, despite the devoted labours of the Celtic monks, the English regarded themselves as peculiarly bound to the See of SS. Peter and Paul. Hence the many churches dedicated to these Apostles. Not only did the Romans, Augustine, Paulinus and Birinus, erect sanctuaries in their honour, but the native English, Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, took the same way of displaying their mother Church.

We must now endeavour to see how Peter was honoured in the East and in the different countries in the Christian West.

It is curious, as has been remarked, that Clement's connection with Peter seems traceable to Eastern rather than to Roman sources, and, in Latin-speaking Rome at any rate, the Epistle to the Corinthians seems to have been unknown. The *Acts of Peter* are considered to have been written in Greek in Asia Minor by an author who did not know much about Rome. The scene of the Clementine romances is the seacoast of Syria with which the writer was evidently familiar; and the first to mention the connection with Peter and Mark's Gospel, as the result of his Roman mission, is Clement of Alexandria. All this is proof

that the interest taken by Oriental Christianity in the Apostle was, from the beginning, considerable. One may say that, as in Rome, Peter commanded even more attention than Paul, although the two are inseparable.

It is a striking testimony to the reverence in which Peter was held that he was regarded as the first bishop of Antioch. It might have been natural to a reader of the New Testament to assign that dignity to Barnabas if not to Paul, but so strong was the belief that authority was vested in the Prince of the Apostles, that the capital of the East—the place where the disciples were first called Christians—could have no other founder than Peter, despite the fact that the only connection he is recorded to have had there was to receive a sharp, and perhaps well deserved rebuke from Paul. Alexandria did not make so bold a claim, but asserted that its church was founded by Mark whom Peter had called "my son".

There is an interesting indication of the connection of the Church of Antioch, if not with Peter, at least with the Roman Chair, according to a Syriac book called the *Doctrine of Addai.* This Addai is supposed to have been one of the Seventy who was sent by our Saviour to Abgar, king of Edessa, in response to a request for instruction in His doctrine. The book contains the famous letter which, as was believed at a comparatively early date, Our Lord Himself wrote to Abgar.

Who this Abgar was is an interesting problem; but we may certainly assume that Christianity very early made its appearance in Edessa. Anyhow Aggai, who succeeded Addai, was martyred by a son of Abgar

before he could provide for another bishop; and Palût, whom he had selected, had to seek ordination from Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, who lived at the close of the second century and the beginning of the third. In the stories, preserved in the Syriac, known as the *Acts of Sharbel* and the *Martyrdom of Barsamya* there is, amid many historical anachronisms, a reference to the attempt of the Eastern Christians to carry away the bodies of Peter and Paul owing, it is said, to the severity of the persecution, reminding us of the Roman legend of something of the kind in the days of Nero. There is also a statement of the Petrine Roman succession being imparted to Serapion by his ordination by Pope Zephyrinus.[1] If this is not history, it is of importance as indicating a connecting link between Antioch and the see of Peter. It is related by Professor F. C. Burkitt in his *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904), Lecture I.

It may perhaps, however, be permissible to hazard the remark that something of the Petrine spirit characterised the ancient church of Antioch, which was from the first opposed to what is known as the "docetic" type of Christianity or the denial of the actual humanity of the Christ. As a form of Gnosticism, this heresy arose before the appearance of the Gospel according to John, and was soon indignantly

[1] *Doctrine of Addai.* "In consequence of Aggai's sudden death he was not able to lay his hands upon Palût. Palût went to Antioch and was ordained to the priesthood by Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, who had himself been consecrated by Zephyrinus, Bishop of the City of Rome, *in the succession of priestly ordination from Simeon Kephas,* who had received it from our Lord, and had been Bishop there in Rome 25 years in the days of the Cæsar who reigned there 13 years."

repudiated by the voice of the Church. But orthodoxy was easily satisfied by the assertion that Christ had been truly born and had truly suffered in a human body. Nevertheless, docetism was as alive as ever; for, granting that the Saviour appeared as a real man, partaking of flesh and blood, the question remained open whether His Body was more than the instrument through which a Divine Spirit was manifested to the world. If this were so, the Humanity of Jesus was more apparent than real and He could not actually have partaken of the whole nature of man, which consists of body, soul, and spirit, nor could He really have had any practical sympathy with human weakness. Such a view is little more than the old docetism in disguise.

To any denial of the doctrine of the true humanity of the Saviour the Antiochene Church was resolutely opposed. This is manifested in the Epistles of Ignatius at the beginning of the second century, and by the bishop Serapion at its close. At the Council of Nicæa, Eusebius of Cæsarea, an adherent of the same school, vainly endeavoured to insert into the Creed a clause, from the baptismal profession of his own church, that the Second Person of the Trinity "had his conversation among men". In later times when the controversy about the Human and Divine natures of Christ was raging, the divines of Antioch unanimously upheld the need of accepting Christ as very Man, as well as very God; and the greatest saint of Antioch, St. John Chrysostom, is distinguished for his rejection of allegorical fancies in his zeal to present Christianity as a religion applicable to human conduct.

It is surely not fanciful to recognise the spirit of Peter in this insistence on a human Jesus, since to him of all the first preachers of the Gospel the Master was intensely personal: no ideal revelation of God, but truly Man Whom he had known on earth, with and for Whom he had suffered, and to Whom he was bound by the closest ties of love and affection.

Another evidence of the connection of Peter with Antioch may be found in the fact that the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, written in the interests of Marcionism, was used by the people of Rhossus near Antioch, to whom Bishop Serapion, according to Eusebius (*H. E.* VI: 12), addressed a letter in which he says: "For we brethren accept Peter and the other apostles *as we would* Christ." He goes on to give his reasons for rejecting this particular gospel.

Allusion has already been made to the recognition of the primacy of the Roman bishops as the successors of Peter by the orientals in the days of the great councils. This they were ready enough to concede because the attitude of their Church during the Christological controversies was never to mix in the party politics of the churches of that period: thus the Roman Church attained a position to command the respect of those who were animated by the mutual rivalries of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch. To each of these patriarchates it was of the utmost importance to secure the support of the West. Here, however, it will be sufficient to indicate the attitude of the famous orator St. John Chrysostom, the eloquent priest of Antioch and bishop of Constantinople, a man, who, like his younger contem-

porary St. Augustine in the West, is conspicuous for his practical as opposed to doctrinal Christianity. At the conclusion of one of his Sermons at Antioch, Chrysostom breaks into a panegyric of the Roman bishopric. He dwells on the fact that Antioch was the first see held by St. Peter and insists that its bishops are his true successors because they have upheld the Faith as he preached it. But he adds that Peter, as prince of the Apostles, had to transfer himself to Rome, the capital of the world, and implies that the pope is his representative, again because of his fidelity to the faith once delivered to the saints. It is permissible here to dwell for a short while on Chrysostom's study of the character of the Apostle, bearing always in mind that the chief object of this Father is moral rather than doctrinal.

Chrysostom dwells particularly upon the questions asked of our Lord by Peter. In his sermon on *The debtor who owed ten thousand talents* (Matt. XVIII: 23 ff.) the preacher speaks:

"Peter, the leader of the apostolic chorus, the mouthpiece of the disciples, the pillar of the Church, the basis of the faith, the foundation of our confession. He, the world-wide fisherman, who brought our race heavenward from the abyss of error. He, who is always of burning zeal, and full of confidence, nay let me say fuller of love than of confidence. When all are keeping silence, he comes to the Master and says 'How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him; till seven times?' etc. (Matt. XVIII: 21.)"

The difficulty presented by the rebuke which Paul in Galatians addressed to Peter is the subject of a

sermon at Antioch in which Chrysostom advances, with no little oratorical skill, the view advanced by Jerome and reprobated by Augustine (see above ch. VIII). The difficulty was felt at an early time and two solutions were proposed. One was that the Peter in Galatians II was not the Prince of the Apostles but some inferior person. It is noteworthy that the present accepted reading Cephas for Peter was either not known, or ignored. The second explanation was that Paul was right on this occasion and Peter in the wrong. Both these are rejected by Chrysostom, who maintains with much ingenuity that it had been agreed upon between the two Apostles that Paul should rebuke Peter and Peter receive Paul's censure in silence, for the instruction of their converts. The sermon is worth attention if only for the skill with which the argument is developed, but its importance to us lies in the insistence of the preacher that Peter and Paul must always have worked in harmony; and that it is inconceivable that Paul should ever have seriously charged one whose preeminence he so fully recognised of being guilty even for a moment of conduct inconsistent with his great position. It is a proof that in the fourth century the patriarchal Church of Antioch recognised the authority of St. Peter. In his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, Chrysostom dwells on the humility of Peter, who for the sake of his disciples permitted Paul to rebuke him openly.

The Eastern Liturgies as a rule hardly give Peter and Paul the prominence we should expect from our consideration of the canon of Roman Mass, universal in the West. The only one in which the two Apostles

are commemorated as at Rome is the Syrian *Liturgy of St. James.* Elsewhere the saints in closest connection with the Blessed Virgin are the two Johns, the Baptist and the Evangelist. Peter's name is mentioned with special honour in some of the Jacobite (*i.e.*, Monophysite) Liturgies, notably that of Abyssinia. However, the feast of Pope St. Martin I, who was summoned to Constantinople for his refusal to accept the Monothelite explanation of the Two Natures of our Lord, and suffered what was practically martyrdom in A. D. 655, is kept in the West on Nov. 12 and in the East on April 13. The Greek hymn in the Menaion runs thus, "Thou didst adorn the divine see of Peter, and since from that Divine Rock thou didst guard the church unmoved, thou now art glorified with him (St. Peter)."

But it is disappointing to find that comparatively little special honour outside Rome and England has been paid to St. Peter or St. Paul. The only cathedral of importance built in their honour was that erected by Peter the Great in his new capital of St. Petersburg, which forms part of the castle of the city. No important order, monastic or chivalric, bears the name of Peter; nor does there appear to be any cultus of him peculiar to any nation. As a matter of fact the popularity of a saint very rarely depended either on the greatness of his exploits in life, or even on his importance in Sacred Scripture. An apt illustration of the mediæval mind on this subject is seen in the story of Pope Leo III at the close of the eighth century. His enemies had accused him of many and grievous crimes, and he offered to purge himself by declaring his innocence at the tomb of Peter. This

his opponents refused to allow. Peter had a kindly disposition and might overlook perjury. But the boy martyr, St. Pancras, was not one to tolerate a false oath, and the Pope could not be trusted till he had sworn upon the altar of this sterner and more formidable saint that he had not committed the crimes laid to his charge.

Perhaps there are few better tests of the popularity of a saint in the middle ages than the frequency with which they appear in pictorial art. Naturally Peter is often represented in scenes from the Gospel and Acts; but there are few if any famous portraits of him. In the Catacombs he and Paul are found together in medallions and on glass. It was also common to represent Peter as the new Moses bringing water from the rock in the wilderness; but this tradition did not persist. There appears to be no famous picture of the Apostle refuting his great adversary Simon Magus at Rome. There are two of the martyrdom: by Giotto in Rome; by Filippino Lippi in Florence; and one in Augsburg by Hans Holbein, the Elder, of Peter at the martyrdom of Paul. The liberation of Peter from prison (Acts XII) is the subject of a picture in Rome by Raphael, and also of one by Lippi in Florence, and a third in Nuremberg. This subject may have been made a popular one by the festival of St. Peter's chains. A list of the most important pictures is given in the Appendix, and shows that, whilst his claim to rule in Rome and through his successors was generally conceded, his aid was not so much sought as that of other less notable saints; for the choice of subjects rested in the days of the artistic glories of the middle

ages, as in the present day, with the patrons rather than with the painters of the period. But, as the next chapter will show, in certain Jewish circles there was no little interest in the story of the Prince of the Apostles.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Peter in Jewish Legend

ONE of the most striking qualities of the Church in Rome throughout the middle ages was that, unlike the Christians of the north, there was little or no bitterness shown to the Jewish community; and there are testimonies to the way in which in mediæval legend the Jews regarded Peter as their protector. With the imperial recognition of the Church, the Jewish community, never popular throughout the empire, was constantly subject to an oppression, increased by Christian fanaticism, which lasted many centuries. But the papal tradition of government was seldom if ever anti-Semitic; and for all its turbulence the Roman populace only rarely molested the Jews in their city. Indeed on several occasions the Popes protested against the barbarity displayed in Europe towards the Chosen People. No wonder, therefore, that the mediæval Jews remembered that the Prince of the Apostles belonged to their race and that his mission, as is admitted in the New Testament, was to them.

Besides other less definite references to Peter, there are three recensions of a legend, each comprising different tales concerning him. All are designed to carry the warfare into the camp of the "Nazarenes" or Christians, and to advance the subversive idea that the very chief of the Apostles was all the time a

heroic and self-sacrificing Jew. The state of mind reflected by these tales is perfectly natural; and led to an effort being made to remind their Christian persecutors that the chief of Jesus' followers shared alike in the convictions, and in experiences of his countrymen.

There do not seem to be any valid criteria for dating these three recensions of the Jewish Legend of Peter. The first is written in very pure Hebrew, the second is often awkward in expression and corrupt as to style; the third is distinguished for the abundance of scriptural references, many of which are noted in the text below. From internal evidence one might feel that they emanate from Byzantine Italy, for acquaintance with the vernacular Greek word for monk (*καλόγερος*, lit. "good old man") is apparently in the second recension. In this same narrative there is an enigmatic reference to an early Pope, by means of the common literary device of concealing a name by letters which are apparently without meaning. Inasmuch as the numerical equivalent of the letters here used is the same as that of the name "Victor," this has been employed in our text. Rabbi Nathan, the Babylonian, who was his contemporary at the close of the second century, also figures in these legends. It is striking that none of these tales show any knowledge of the Latin Church's tradition that Peter was the Rock on which the Church was built, except in the curiously distorted forms given in the text below. Kepha or Kaipha means stone or rock: one tradition explains that Peter received this name from the tower of rock in which he lived; another, from the rock on

which he sat to compose and deliver his *piyutim* (metrical hymns); another, from the stone church raised over his tomb. The bold claim advanced by these folk-tales that Peter Kepha was the author of some favorite synagogal hymns and prayers lends some color to the preposterous claim of the legend.

The Hebrew texts were published in Jellinek's *Beth Ha Midrasch*, vols. V-VI, (Vienna, 1873), and recently edited and again published by Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, N. Y., 1915 (II pp. 557-559). Since there is only one translation in German, by Wünsche in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica: eine Sammlung alter Midrashim* (Leipzig, 1883, pp. 88-93), which is decidedly a "free" version! and none in English, it may add to the interest of the subject to give the three recensions in full. A few comments on unfamiliar words and expressions may assist the reader who is unacquainted with Jewish terminology. The "Heavenly Voice" (literally, "daughter of a voice") is a common Rabbinic expression, signifying inspiration of an occasional, but not complete character. The undercurrent of feeling intimated by the complaints and insinuations that the Jews were hindered from free recourse to their synagogues, that their children were seduced into Christianity when too young to know what they were doing, and that converts from Judaism were often corrupted and perverted characters, might represent popular Jewish opinion at almost any time and place after the fifth century. No specific occasion or time is thereby furnished for determining the date or provenance of the tales. The "Exilarch" was the presiding religious (and often national) head of Jewry in the Dis-

persion or "Exile," and the term was particularly applied to that official from the time when Babylon became his seat. The letters used to denote a Bishop may be the Greek word *episcopos* corruptly transmitted or even the Italian term *vescovo*.

THE JEWISH LEGENDS OF SIMEON KAIPHA

First Recension

Now it came to pass after these things that a great strife arose between the Nazarenes and the Jews, insomuch that whenever a Nazarene saw a Jew he slew him. And for a space of thirty years their enmity waxed and continued. And the Nazarenes gathered themselves together to thousands and myriads and hindered Israel from performing the pilgrimages to Jerusalem (*cf.* Exodus XXIII: 14-17). And it was a grievous calamity to Israel like unto the day on which the Golden Calf was made, nor knew they what they should do. But their faith grew the more and increased in strength. Now there went forth twelve men who journeyed to twelve kingdoms and "prophesied their prophecies in the Camp" (Num. XI: 26), and Israel went astray after them. These were men of renown and strengthened faith in Jesus, saying that they were his Apostles, and a great company of the children of Israel gathered themselves unto them.

When the Sages saw this evil thing it grieved them sore, and they said one to another, Alas for us! For we have sinned greatly that in our days so evil a thing should come to pass in Israel, the like which neither we nor our fathers have heard. And it afflicted them deeply and they sat and wept lifting up their eyes to Heaven and saying: "O Lord God of

Heaven, we beseech thee give us counsel what to do, for we know not what we should do. On Thee are our eyes fixed, for that innocent blood hath been shed in the midst of thy people Israel because of *that Man.* How long shall it be to us a snare that the hand of the Nazarenes be strong against us ever more and more to slay us so that few of us are left? For the sin of the backsliding of thy people, of the house of Israel, is this come upon us. But do thou for thy Name's sake give us counsel what to do that we may be sundered from the Congregation of the Nazarenes."

And it came to pass as they finished their prayer that one of the Elders stood up whose name was Simeon Kaipha. He was one who was wont to hear the Heavenly Voices. And he said unto them: "Hearken unto me, my brethren and my folk. If my words seem good in your eyes I shall cause these men to be made separate from the Congregation of the children of Israel so that there shall not be unto them any part or lot in the midst of Israel. But ye must take upon yourselves the sin." And they all answered and said: "Upon us be the sin, only do thou as thou hast said."

Then Simeon Kaipha went into the Temple and there wrote down the *Great Name* and cutting his flesh put within the written *Name,* and went out from the Temple. Then he took out the writing and learned *The Name.* Thereafter he went unto the metropolitan city of the Nazarenes and cried with a loud voice and said: "Let all who believe in Jesus come unto me, for I am his apostle." Then said they unto him: "Give us a sign and a token," and

he said to them: "What sign seek ye of me?" And they answered: "The signs that Jesus did in his lifetime, the same do thou for us." And he said: "Bring one stricken with leprosy unto me." And they brought him, and laying his hands upon him, lo, he healed him. And he said to them again: "Bring one who is dead unto me," and they brought him. And he laying his hands upon him quickened him so that he stood upon his feet.

When these men beheld this they fell on the ground before him and said to him: "Of a truth thou art the apostle of Jesus, for he did the like things for us in his lifetime." And Simeon Kaipha said unto them: "I am Jesus' Apostle and he commanded me to come unto you. Swear unto me to perform all that I command you." And they all answered and said: "All that thou commandest we will perform." And Simeon Kaipha said unto them: "Know ye that Jesus was one who hated Israel and Israel's Law, as Isaiah prophesied: 'Your New Moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth' (I: 14), and know ye also that he hath no pleasure in Israel as Hosea prophesied: 'For ye are not my People' (II: 9), and though it lies within his hands to root them out from the world in one moment from every place, yet willeth he not to make an end of them but he willeth that they should be allowed to remain for an abiding memorial of his crucifixion and stoning unto all generations. With what great patience did he undergo all his afflictions in order to redeem you from hell! And now it is he who warns and enjoins you never again to do ill to any Jew: if a Jew say to a Nazarene 'Walk with me a mile' let him go with him twain;

and if a Jew smite thee on the left cheek turn to him the right cheek also; that, tasting their reward in this world, they may be punished in hell in the world to come. Which if ye do, ye shall be worthy to dwell with him in his own abode. Behold he commands you not to observe the Feast of Unleavened Bread, but that ye observe the day of his Death, and in place of the Feast of Weeks that ye keep the forty days from his Stoning [1] to his Ascension into heaven afterward, and in place of the Feast of Booths that ye observe the day on which he was circumcised." And they all answered and said: "All that thou hast spoken unto us will we perform if thou abide with us." And he said: "I shall abide among you if ye do for me what he laid upon me: not to eat aught save only 'bread of adversity and water of affliction' (Is. XXX: 20), and what he laid upon you: to build me a tower in the midst of the city for to dwell there unto the day of my death." And they said: "According to thy words even so shall we do."

Then built they a tower for him for his dwelling place and gave him day by day bread and water unto the day of his death. And he abode there serving the God of our Fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and composed hymns many in number, which he sent to every quarter of Israel as a memorial to him in every generation. And all his hymns which he composed he sent to his masters.

Simeon dwelt in the tower six years and then died, ordering his body to be buried in the tower, the which they did. Afterwards they built over him a glorious

[1] Jesus in a Jewish legend was stoned as a blasphemer at Lydda.

edifice and that tower still exists in Rome. This they call "Peter," the name of a stone, for he had sat on this stone until the day of his death.

Second Recension

At that time there was in Israel one called Simeon Kaipha because he was wont to sit on the stone which the prophet Ezekiel used to prophesy by the River Chebar (Ezek. I: 1). Now he was the chief of the Singers and his voice went forth from the stone. Forasmuch as he possessed great wisdom (the Nazarenes) were envious because of him that there should be such a man in Israel. And Rabbi Simeon knew of their envy. What did he? At the time of the Feast of Booths he went up to them on the Mount of Olives on the day *Hosh'ana rabbah.* When they began to dispute with Rabbi Simeon he excelled them in all the branches of wisdom, nor had they the power to answer his questions, and they trembled before him. When they beheld the greatness of his wisdom they took counsel and said: "So wise a man we may not allow to live among the Jews. Let us take him from them lest in a short time he bring our teaching to nought." Thereupon they laid hold on him and said to him: "We know that in Israel there is not a wise man like unto thee and it is within thy power to 'add and to diminish' (Deut. IV: 2; XIII: 1), to remove that which hath already been done and to establish everything. The Lord hath shown great favor unto thee in the sight of Jesus to establish our religion, and all our learned men are Jews. As we beheld thy deeds we said, thou

art worthy to establish our religion. Day by day we multiply the more and the Jews become less and less. It is not fitting that such as thou continue to remain with them. Therefore come over to us, that thou mayest teach us good commandments and statutes; then shalt thou cause us to inherit the world to come and we shall make thee the Head above us all nor may any one say to thee, What doest thou?"

He answered them: "Your words are good. But I would fain not forsake my own religion." Then said they to him: "Except thou come over to our sect we shall slay both thee and all the Jews so that not one of them be left alive." He replied to them: "Everything is in the power of Heaven and God will help us."

Then began they to slay the Jews. In their fear and terror they all came beseeching Rabbi Simeon, and said unto him: "Do thou what they demand and rescue us from their hands, and upon our soul be this sin. And do thou after thy great wisdom." And the Gentiles were robbing and plundering the Jews, selling one Jew for one piece of money, and three Jews for three pieces—even as Jesus was sold. Which when Rabbi Simeon saw he said: "It is better that Simeon and an hundred like him should perish than that one soul should perish from the midst of Israel." What did he then? He said that he would go with them, and, behold, the Pope (and) Bishop Victor (?) went with him. Then said he to them: "What would ye of me? If ye will to destroy the Jews I will not abide with you, but if ye will to do what Saint Paul in the name of Jesus ordained that his words be fulfilled, this is what ye shall do: take

upon yourselves anew the obligation and fulfil the condition which he said unto you: cease from stoning Jews and allow them to assemble in their houses of abomination whenever they wish; and so also allow them to enter into our churches that they too may be enabled to come to belief in Jesus. Which if ye fail to do the Jews will say that ye persecute them lest they behold your vain and false deeds."

Immediately they received the words of Rabbi Simeon—even Pope Victor (?) saying: "All that thou shalt ordain and enjoin upon us will we perform." Further it was ordered that any Jew who would fain fore-gather in their (houses of) abomination(s) should be free to do so. Then said he again to them: "I command you what I have bound myself by an oath to do: my whole lifelong not to eat meat on Friday, for on that day Jesus was put to death, nor to drink wine all the days of my life, foregoing that gladness out of love for Jesus; I shall live separate from all men dwelling alone and apart lest my eyes go astray, in order to fulfil what was written: 'Keep thyself from a false matter' (Exodus XXIII: 7), and to perform what I have taken upon myself by an oath to do; to be sundered from all men in order to prepare for them statutes and ordinances and to reveal to them the secrets of the universe that ye may know and believe the Truth. Therefore I command you to build a lofty tower in the which I may dwell all the days of my life lest ye cause me to suffer harm and distract me from my work and studies. For I do not accept the faith to escape (lit. 'for evil'), but know it to be the true way. From now on and henceforth shall ye not exercise aught of constraint upon

a man that he come to your teaching by force or compulsion but that he come of good will. And if ye so do when ye bring the Jews to your religion, ye shall make them to know that their religion is not good. Therefore every one who wills to come to the faith will come voluntarily. Even though one may say that he comes of his own will receive him not except he shall have lived for thirty days in a house of good men. And the child under nine years of age accept not, for he cannot act with understanding."

Immediately the Gentiles built a lofty tower for him to abide in. He was the first Pope there was in the world, whom the Greeks call *Kaloyiori.*[2] All that he did he wrought with great guile lest he eat of forbidden foods,[3] or worship their images. So he dwelt there in the tower alone and enacted many rulings which the Gentiles took upon themselves under oath. At the very time that he dwelt there he composed great hymns[4] for Israel, which still bear his name for the following reason, since he wrote: "Know ye, house of Israel, who believe in the Lord and in His perfect Law, that it is the true Law and that Israel is called his inheritance. I, Simeon Kaipha, for love of Him bear all these many and grievous afflictions, for I know the difference between the true and the false. Behold, accept ye of me the hymns which I have composed, that he may pardon both you and me. For all I have done, I wrought for your peace and safety." And they received the

[2] Καλόγηρος or καλόγερος = good old man = monk; from 5th century to the present.

[3] These are of two kinds: those not properly slaughtered and those not properly tithed. Both terms are used in the Hebrew text.

[4] *Piyutim*—liturgical poems.

epistle with joy in their hearts and sent it to the Exilarch and showed the hymns to the Heads of the Academies and to the Sanhedrin. All of them approved of them, pronounced them excellent, and worthy to be recited by the Readers at their services. Even unto this day is it the custom to say them every Sabbath.[5]

And this Simeon Kaipha is he whom the Gentiles call St. Peter.

Third Recension

Not long thereafter among the Sages of Israel there arose a very wise man whose name was Simeon, in their tongue also called *Kaipha*—because of his end. He was held in great esteem of the Jews for he was wont to hear the Heavenly Voice. So great did his wisdom grow that he came to be regarded with jealousy by the Sages; the honor due him was not accorded to him by reason of their envy. And he was finally compelled against his will to withdraw to a spot distant from Jerusalem and there to take up his abode.

When the Nazarenes heard of the wisdom of Rabbi Simeon called Kaipha, and of the evil lot which had befallen him because of the oppression wherewith the Sages "oppressed" him (Ex. III: 9), a great company of the Nazarenes gathered themselves together and shortly afterwards came to Jerusalem with drawn swords and entered into the house where Rabbi Simeon Kaipha was, for he had come up to

[5] This is the metrical prayer beginning, "The soul of every living thing."

Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Booths. Then said they unto him: "Art thou the Sage, Rabbi Simeon Kaipha? How long wilt thou suffer thyself to be hated of the Sages? For they 'hate thee with a perfect hatred' (Psalm CXXXIX: 22) and thou art to them as 'a grieving thorn' (Ezek. XXVIII: 24). We shall 'search out a resting-place for thee' (Num. X: 33) if thou wilt turn thy heart to our faith, the which 'goeth up and prospereth' day by day, and thou shalt be our Chief and Ruler 'according to all the desire of thy soul' (Deut. XII: 15). But if thou hearken not unto us willingly (to do as we say), behold the swords drawn that there be none of you who shall 'remain or escape' (Jer. XLIV: 14)." And they menaced him with their swords, saying: "Give an answer unto us, for nought may come betwixt us to sunder us save only the sword blade and death." And Rabbi Simeon after his wisdom and righteousness made answer to them thus: "Far be it from me, who am this day seventy years old, to profane my gray hair, by (assuming) a new faith." And he said unto them: "Do with me as ye will. But as for the remnant of Israel, 'these sheep, what evil have they done?' (II Sam. XXIV: 17), and wherein have they sinned that ye pursue after them hotly without any cause, 'though there be no violence in their hands' (Job XVI: 17)?" And Rabbi Simeon said in his wisdom and righteousness: "Give me time that I may search into and investigate your faith to know if I may believe it, for belief must not come through compulsion." And they said unto him: "Lo, we allow thee the time of one full day."

Then assembled and gathered themselves together

unto Rabbi Simeon all the house of Israel in Jerusalem, and falling before him to the ground, they besought him with tears and supplication, saying: "Upon us be the guilt if thou 'walk with them' in order that the great Israelitish People be preserved alive; Behold they 'come out against us with the sword' (Num. XX: 18) and as for us, 'our power is gone' (Deut. XXXII: 36). Our sins have brought it about that their hand has become strong, and who shall stand against this hard and powerful folk whose weapons of war are in their hands? And in thy wisdom see thou to it that 'thy soul abhor' their defilements and abominations, only do thou rescue the remnant alive."

But upon the second day R. Simeon sent to call before him the elders of the Nazarenes and said unto them: "Lo I am at your command(s). I have decided to go with you and to do your will, only do ye not alter your words which ye spake unto me, to make me Leader and Ruler over you." And they answered and said: "As we have said even so shall we do. He who would 'rebel against thy commandment' (Deut. I: 26) shall surely die without exception. Come with us and we will do good to thee."

So, R. Simeon Kaipha went with the people of the Nazarenes and he was reported among them as one who clave to their faith with deep devotion. Daily he was confirming himself in their false faith and "strengthened the weak hands and confirmed the feeble knees" (Isaiah XXXV: 3), enkindling them with zeal for the new Law and worship which John and Abba Saul (St. Paul) had given them. He cautioned them urgently to keep themselves distant

from the congregation of Israel and warned them not to enter their conventicles and schools lest they hinder the Israelites from their worship. "For," said he to them, "ye do by this but 'bring them down into the pit of destruction' (Ps. LV: 23) since the Law of Moses was hateful in the eyes of Jesus and as for the worship he (Moses) instituted, 'strange (= idolatrous) in his work' (Is. XXVIII: 21)." And the Nazarenes hearkened unto all his commands, for they trusted in him greatly and he was in their eyes an eminent believer in their faith, distinguished above all others who believed in their false religion.

After many days, during which R. Simeon had shown himself zealous among them and had come to be regarded as a distinguished believer and adherent of their doctrine, R. Simeon commanded that a house and tower of stone be builded for him with chambers hewn out of the rock, for he said: "Jesus hath commanded that I should have a private place where my people may assemble and through me He may give them commands according to his good pleasure. He hath also enjoined upon me not to take a wife all my days, lest I be found unclean at such time as he may come to speak with me: therefore let no one come unto this tower." All of R. Simeon's thoughts were directed to the end that he might keep himself apart from them lest he be defiled by their food and drink and worship their images, for his 'heart was faithful' (Neh. IX: 8) in the Lord and in the Law of His servant Moses.

And the Nazarenes hearkened unto him inasmuch as they trusted him greatly: they built him the tower and in the clefts of the rocks hewed out a dwelling-

place for him. There R. Simeon dwelt alone all his lifelong occupying himself with his Master, in (studying) the Law of Moses both day and night. Once each year went he forth without the door of the tower where the Nazarenes assembled themselves before him, and, bowing to the ground, paid him reverence, and he imparted to them new statutes and ordinances. And he said unto them on each occasion: "Thus hath Jesus commanded me to enjoin and to teach you—a Law, commandments, and ordinances which are (not) good." Of the commandments was there not one which was not of benefit to Israel, and the Nazarenes, believing in him implicitly, took upon themselves the yoke of the ordinances and commandments for all time to come. And he withheld them from the observance of all the commandments of the Law of Moses, both ordinances and statutes. So they changed the name of Rabbi Simeon Kaipha to *Poter* ("Dispenser") because he *dispensed*[6] them entirely from all the many prescriptions of the Law of Moses.

And he dwelt there all his days in the stone tower. Because of the rock which was his habitation the Jews called the name of Rabbi Simeon, *Kaipha* ('stone'). While he was "straitly shut up" (Josh. VI: 1) in his tower of stone, Rabbi Simeon was wont constantly to worship the Lord "with all his soul,"

[6] *Cf.* Matt. XVI: 19; XVIII: 18; John XX: 23. "Dispense" = "loose" in these passages, and, in Rabbinic sources, means to declare absolved from an obligation; the antonym, "bind" means to pronounce an obligation or duty as incumbent upon the person, who is thus said to be "bound" to its performance. This word is allied to the meaning "guilty" also.

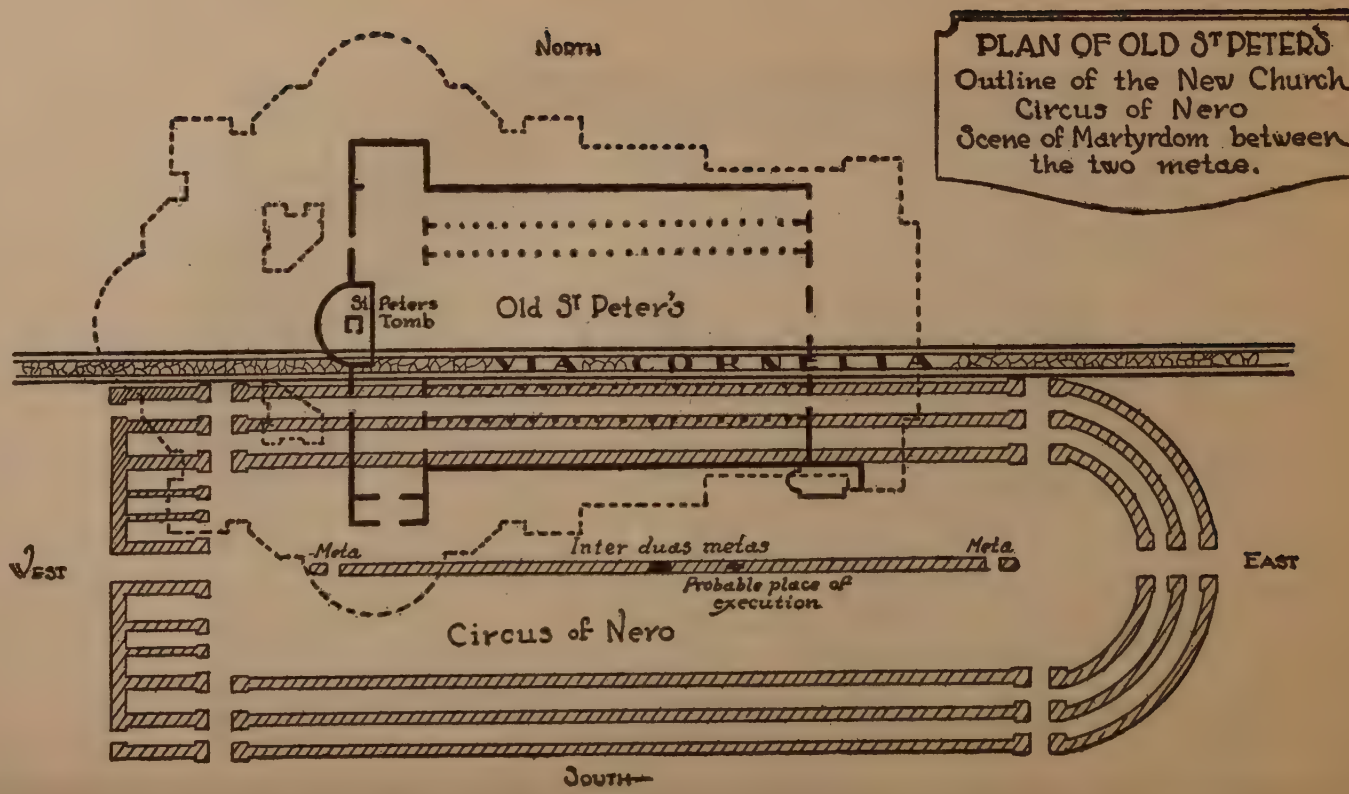
and he composed for all the liturgical year as many liturgical poems, hymns, canticles, devotional odes, and metrical verses [7] as did Kalir. Some of the metrical hymns he composed in his rocky tower he "sent by the hand of a fit man" (Lev: XVI: 21) of 'a sure house' (I Sam. II: 35) commissioning him to deliver them through the Sages of Israel in Babylon to the Readers of the congregations for them to recite them in the services. And the Sages handed these liturgical poems over to Rabbi Nathan the Babylonian, who was Exilarch. Thence they were disseminated throughout all the scattered regions of Israel, and they were held in great esteem. Hence arose the custom in Israel of reciting these hymns everywhere in the Dispersion, and out of honour to their composer they were lustily sung with the accompaniment of musical instruments.

[7] This series of late technical terms has been approximately rendered into English equivalents. Kalir (7th or 8th cent.) was the famous religious poet to which many such compositions are ascribed.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

The Resting Place of St. Peter—Conclusion

As has been shown, the body of the Apostle was believed to have been laid at rest on the Vatican near the scene of his martyrdom at least as early as the end of the second century. Thence in 258 it was removed to the cemetery of *Ad Catacumbas* and after the Peace of the Church, was restored to the Vatican Hill and the great basilica built over it. For years it remained in peace under the altar and attracted the devout from all parts of the Christian world. But it must always be remembered that the church of St. Peter was not in Rome but in the open unfortified country on the other side of the Tiber, and consequently unprotected in the event of an invasion. In 846 the Saracens sailed up the Tiber, and defeated the troops which were sent against them, but were unable to force the walls of Rome. Still the outskirts remained open to their depredations; and for a fortnight they were able to plunder the Churches of Peter and Paul at their pleasure. All that was of value they carried away and no one knows for certain whether the sacred relics were removed or not. Probably they were concealed, as the Romans had timely notice from Corsica of the intended raid. The Church of St. Peter was restored by Pope St. Leo IV, who saved it from a repetition of the catastrophe it had undergone by building a wall around what is known to this day as the Leonine City.


PLAN OF OLD ST PETER'S
Outline of the New Church
Circus of Nero
Scene of Martyrdom between the two metae.
North
St Peters Tomb
Old St Peter's
VIA CORNELIA
West
East
South
Meta
Inter duas metas
Meta
Probable place of execution
Circus of Nero

The tomb of the Apostle was, however, still held in profound reverence and attracted worshippers as before; and no religious edifice ever had a more tragic history than the already venerable Church of St. Peter on the Vatican, and none has experienced more astonishing vicissitudes.

Leo IV (847-855) in fortifying the Vatican had not only provided for the security of the Church of Peter but also of Peter's successors. Near the bridge which joined the new town to the city stands the gigantic tomb of Hadrian. This, as the Castle of St. Angelo, became a fortress in which the popes could find security when oppressed by the factious nobility or the turbulent populace of Rome. For many years pope and antipope, one in the Lateran, and one on the Vatican, hurled maledictions against each other. St. Peter's was the scene of the coronation of the emperors, with its splendid pageantry, followed almost invariably by a fight between the German soldiery and the people of the city, the sequel of which was usually a massacre of the defeated citizens and the retirement of the plague-stricken Teutons from the walls of Rome. Even the sanctity of St. Peter's did not prevent its being the scene of tumult and massacre, as in the days of Henry V when that Emperor remorselessly attacked Pope Paschal II (1117).

It was in the reign of his predecssor Henry IV that in 1084 the inflexible Gregory VII summoned Robert Guiscard and his Normans and Saracens from Sicily to deliver him from the northern tyrant. This was the most terrible of all the many sieges and sackings of the city, which despite Gothic, Vandalic, Visigothic, Byzantine, and Saracen captures still re-

mained, if desolated and ruined, the wonder of the world.

From this time the city of Rome steadily decayed and what the Normans had spared of the remains of antiquity the people, as St. Benedict had prophesied centuries before, destroyed. Rarely indeed was a pope master of the city. More often he was a fugitive, sometimes unable to find a home even in Italy, occasionally an honoured refugee in France. By the first decade of the fourteenth century the papal court had emigrated to Avignon, within the confines of the Empire, but near to the frontier of mediæval France. The seventy years of exile from Rome were followed by the Great Schism, nor was it till the close of the Council of Constance (1418) that an Italian pope of the noble family of Colonna was able to establish himself in Rome. With Martin V, the age of the Renaissance papacy, which was to make the city the centre of the art and culture of the western world, was inaugurated. Then it was that the Vatican suburb became the centre of the administration of the see of St. Peter.

On March 9, 1447 the cardinals chose the poorest and most obscure of their number, Thomas Parentucelli of Sarzana, under the title of Nicolas V, whose splendid reign of eight years laid the foundations of the worldly glory of papal Rome.

Nicolas V was a humanist both by temperament and education. He was a devoted student and had enjoyed the patronage of Cosimo de'Medici. He was, as pope, an enlightened fosterer both of art and learning, and attracted scholars, painters, and architects to Rome, among others Poggio, Fra Angelico,

and Alberti. But he was no pleasure-seeking dilettante. His schemes were as far-sighted as they were splendid. The day before he died he called his cardinals together and explained that he had laboured to make Rome once more a glorious city because ordinary men would not be impressed by learned arguments as to the rights of the papacy—at this time Laurentius Valla was exposing the falsehood of the universally accepted story of Constantine's donation—but they would be influenced by the architectural and artistic glory of Rome. For this cause he had laboured to make the city worthy of being the capital of the world.

In his plans for making the Vatican the most splendid part of Rome, Nicolas V resolved on reconstructing the venerable but comparatively humble church of St. Peter into the most spacious and magnificent in the world. But this project was stayed by his death, and we have to wait for its furtherance till the reign of Julius II (1503-1513), one of the most masterful and energetic of men who filled the papal chair. With the advice of his architect Bramante, Julius II resolved to sweep away the old church for something suitable to the grandiose conceptions of his age. In vain did Michelangelo protest. The old basilica began to be pulled down with ruthless haste. The exterior was covered with mosaics, hardly any fragments of which were permitted to survive, and tombs of venerable age were broken up. Even the monument of the humanist pope Pius II (1458-1464) was swept away. The magnificence of the new church could never replace the associations of the old. In a sense the piety of

the middle ages perished with the building of the new shrine. The foundation stone was laid by Julius on April 6, 1506, whilst the price of the undertaking began to be paid when Luther, eleven years later, protested against the sale of indulgences to defray the cost of New St. Peters.

It took an hundred and fifty years to complete the enterprise of Julius II, and it is not here necessary to go through the different stages of the progress of the work. One episode alone need detain us, as it led to the last occasion on which any one has seen the relics of the Prince of the Apostles.

In 1608, a century after Julius II had laid the foundation stone of the new church, the last vestige of the ancient one was demolished.

Naturally in the process of demolition the supposed resting place of St. Peter was left undisturbed, but, whilst work was in progress in connection with the high altar of the new Church and the old chapel of the "Confession" in the time of Clement VIII (1592-1605), the architect uncovered an aperture (*foramen*) through which the tomb of St. Peter could be seen. The pope accompanied by three cardinals, Bellarmine, the celebrated historian, Antonio, and Sfondrato went to the place. A torch, held by the architect (Della Porta), revealed that there was a golden cross lying on the top of the sepulchre. Now the *Liber Pontificalis,* which records, among other things, the treasures of the Roman Church, mentions that Constantine had placed a golden cross over the body of St. Peter. The Pope ordered the most ancient altar to be left undisturbed where it was and the aperture filled up with cement in his pres-

ence. He then ordered a new and more magnificent altar to be erected, which altar was consecrated on the 6th of July 1594, the Pope himself consecrating it, and offering first the holy sacrifice upon it.

Thus it is at least probable that, when St. Peter's had been sacked by the Saracens in the ninth century, the tomb in which Constantine believed that the Apostle lay had been effectually concealed from the cupidity of the marauders.

It is tempting to relate the wonderful discoveries in the crypts below the altar of the church in the seventeenth century; but here it is sufficient to say that St. Peter's remains may still be under the altar of his famous church, and are still at rest owing to the reverent piety of the Roman See.

CONCLUSION

All that remains is to endeavour to estimate the influence of the Prince of the Apostles upon the development of the story of Christianity and the little which can be known of his career enhances the difficulty of coming to a definite conclusion. From his first appearance on the shores of the Sea of Galilee Peter becomes an object of interest. Next to the Master, he is the most living and attractive figure in the entire Gospel story. He alone of the Twelve seems really alive to us. He takes the lead in the history of the infant Church, and then makes way for other characters to monopolise the stage. But he is not allowed to remain in obscurity. The most venerable traditions of Christian antiquity agree in joining his name with that of Paul as the twin

luminaries of the Gospel in the days of its diffusion throughout the Roman Empire. These two great Apostles are made to unite in founding the most revered and widely acknowledged church in the Christian world; and East and West agree in allowing that Rome was the scene of their martyrdom.

Later, in the name of Peter the bishops of Rome claim the right to speak and to assert their authority over all believers. The Church, at least of the West, for centuries pays respect to St. Peter in the person of his successors; and Rome has never for a moment ceased to rest its rights upon the very words of Christ when He said He would build His Church on the Rock of Peter. Protestants may resist the tremendous claims of the Roman hierarchy to infallible authority, and may question the real meaning of the words of the Lord as recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel; but they must admit that, owing to them, Peter has filled an unique place in the piety of the Christian world.

Yet it is remarkable that, perhaps owing to his very predominance, St. Peter never seems to have been a popular saint, despite the very human character he displays in the Gospel. There are few traces of the impassioned reverence for him, displayed towards the Blessed Virgin, nor of the affectionate regard paid to the memory of St. John the Evangelist. Christian art truly represents popular feeling; and even in illustrating the scenes in the Gospel when Peter was almost certainly young and enthusiastic, the painters depict him as an elderly man, bald and stern of aspect. Not even modern artists seem able to shake off the tradition. To all, Peter stands for

authority, as one who had never been young. Not even the inspired narrative seems to be able to shake the authority of the tradition.

Yet, if the Peter of the New Testament represents the authority of the Christian priesthood, he does so in the most attractive aspect. The writer of the Epistles to the Hebrews, when he dwells on the mystery of the priesthood of Christ, declares that "we have not an high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities." (Heb. IV: 15.) To him, therefore, the essence of priesthood is sympathy. If, therefore, the Lord bestowed a special gift of priesthood upon Peter, it must have been that He selected the Apostle who could understand and sympathise best with ordinary human weakness, not the mystic, nor the theologian, but the man who had toiled and suffered, failed and recovered as ordinary men do, not so much the once-born as the twice-born man who knew the bitterness of disappointed hopes, and was capable of rising strengthened by defeat. In this sense Peter may be taken as the type of the visible Church, the record of which has never been that of unfailing success. For the Church, if divine in origin, is certainly human in its struggle on earth. Yet though at times it has sunk deeper, even than Peter when he denied his Lord, it has again and again risen and renewed its strength. It has proved its undying quality by its power of recuperation, and one may boldly say that it has, humanly speaking, lived, because it has never lost sympathy with mankind but has reflected its best aspirations, even when these were by no means the loftiest. The Church has adapted itself to ages of culture, of ignorance,

of superstition, of barbarism, of refinement, of false knowledge, of science, of tyranny, and of democracy. The gates of hell have seemed at times to have prevailed but have never won the victory. In this it has represented the Peter of history, the most human of the followers of Christ on earth.

If an apology for a life of St. Peter were needed it would be that at the present day the very idea of a Church is increasingly unpopular. Some of the leading teachers of religion, dissatisfied with the condition of every organised Christian community, seem to declare that any attempt to unite in a Church is a mistake and that the only refuge for the believer is to betake himself to "a religion of the spirit" or a mysticism by which he may be able to rise to contemplation of the Divine and forget the miserable world around him. At any rate, according to these, to save Christianity it is necessary to abolish the Church as an institution. Curiously enough, such teachers appear to overlook the fact that many who are most opposed to Christianity, and would destroy it even as a moral system, are convinced that they must imitate it by creating a society or societies to co-operate in holding and propagating their opinions. These realise that no man is of much service to the world unless he can work with others, and no opinion is of value if it cannot be taught and imparted. In this way, even the teaching of Karl Marx has been organised in what may be called, even by a misnomer, a church, or churches.

Assuredly the multiplication of churches in the Christian world is a serious evil; but the remedy is not the substitution of pure individualism for a com-

mon religious life. A mere sect may excite contempt, but it is better than nothing at all; for in it men are at least uniting with a comman object and mutual help and support.

Of course the ideal is that all humanity should unite in the single object of extending the Kingdom of Christ on earth; and though to many this seems impossible, at least in our day, it is the duty of Christians to keep this end in view. But it assuredly cannot be attained by regarding the Church itself as undesirable, for that can only result in destroying the fundamental idea of the religion of Jesus, which is to bring all men into a brotherhood united to Him.

Of the One United and indivisible Church, which has never yet been truly realised on earth, Peter may be said to be the representative.

APPENDIX A

The Sea of Galilee

When one considers how small a sheet of water this Lake actually is, and the great population which thronged its shores, it is impossible not to wonder how a large fishing industry could have been maintained without completely exhausting the supply. For not only were large drag nets employed, but there were curing stations, as at Taricheæ, which must have demanded a large quantity of fish, especially as those of the Sea of Galilee were not only largely used as food by the people of the country, but were exported as delicacies. Bearing in mind the severe fishery legislation, necessary to protect the waters of Europe and America from being deprived of their fish, it is natural to ask how it was that Galilee could for years provide work for hundreds and perhaps thousands of fishermen.

For this reason I have made enquiries on the subject of Sir Arthur Shipley, G.B.E., F.R.S., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and part author of the article "Fish" in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*. He has kindly enquired of the Fisheries Laboratory of Lowestoft, England and has elicited for me the following letter, parts of which I make bold to quote—

Dear Sir Arthur:

. . . . . .

The lake of Tiberias comes as a welcome interruption and this is the substance of the joint views of Gardiner and myself:

One inclines to suggest that first of all we should be very careful that there is a fact to be explained. I am afraid I haven't had time to see what literature, if any, we have on Galilee, but primitive methods of fishing would have to be followed with enormous volume to constitute over-fishing of a really productive sheet of water of good extent. A good deal of the shore of Galilee is, I believe, either steep or swampy; in which case shore seines would be useless, and were tuck nets and purse seines employed these would hardly be so successful in water of any depth as to clear out an extensive stock. Incidentally Gardiner considers that the over-fishing of lakes is an exception. He has some experience of the Irish lakes and of certain English waters and is well read in fresh water work generally, so that point is worth mentioning. Then again the lake may be receiving supplies from the rivers flowing into it.

. . . . . .

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. O. Borley.

There is certainly a difficulty to be cleared up, for the New Testament, Josephus, Strabo, and Pliny all testify to the extreme productiveness of the waters of the Lake, as do the Rabbis, who also say that the fishing in them could not be restricted, but was free to all. Nor are the English or Irish lakes a solution because they are as a rule fed by numerous streams and are connected with the sea, whereas the Galilean lake depends on the Jordan only, and the streams flowing into it are winter torrents, dry for most of the year.

I also applied to that eminent supporter of the Zionist movement, Dr. George Alexander Kohut of New York, who made careful enquiries and kindly

sent me the following clipping from the *New Palestine* (New York) April 23, 1926, p. 394—

"Six groups of Palestinian Jewish *fishermen* are plying their trade at different points along the coast and on the Kinnereth Lake. The groups with their families number 110. Two are at Acre, three on the banks of the Kinnereth, and one at Athlit. Salonica fishermen are at Acre, where there is also a group of Jews from Russia, while fishermen from Lithuania and Poland pursue their trade on the Kinnereth. The Trade and Industry Department of the Palestine Zionist Executive has always encouraged the organization and work of these groups, and out of funds of the Keran Hayesod a loan of $15 has been granted to each fisherman family."

From this it will appear that fishing in Kinnereth (*i.e.*, lake of Galilee) is being resumed by the Jewish colonists, though, till now, modern travellers have remarked upon the comparative absence of fishing boats on the lake.

The required information is, however, supplied by the late Canon Tristram in his invaluable *Natural History of the Bible* (9th edition, London, 1898) which has been used in the article "Fish" already referred to. One reason for the lake being so little fished is explained in a single sentence:

> "The Arabs of the present day have a prejudice against the use of fish, and never attempt to use the abundant supplies stored in the Jordan and its affluents."

Tristram first remarks on the enormous amount of fish in Lower Egypt, despite the fact that they are the staple food of a large population. He says "not only man, but myriads of water fowl, which abound in Lower Egypt more perhaps than in any country

in the world, depend upon fish, and yet the supply is as inexhaustible as ever." He goes on to say that the fish in the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, as Josephus has observed, are very similar to those of the Nile and its affluents, and adds "The density of the shoals of fish in the Sea of Galilee can scarcely be conceived by those who have not witnessed them. Frequently these shoals cover an acre or more of the surface, and the fish, as they slowly move along in masses, are so crowded, with their back fins just appearing on the level of the water, that their appearance at a little distance is that of a violent shower of rain pattering on the surface." The Jordan is alive with fish to its very exit. On one occasion this authority saw masses of fish awaiting with upturned snouts the locusts as they fell, from the trees they had stripped, into the stream below. It is recorded that at a single cast of such a net as Andrew and Peter were using when Jesus called them twenty-four large fishes were taken. The ancient description of the large fishing industry in Galilee seems therefore perfectly credible.

Further information has been supplied by Mr. Borley for those who wish to pursue this interesting subject more fully. He recommends the following books:

Bashford Dean: "Bibliography of Fishes," published by the Museum of New York (1916).

William Radcliffe: "Fishing From the Earliest Times," published by John Murray, London (1921).

E. W. G. Masterman in the Palestine Exploration Fund.

APPENDIX B

Early Roman Christianity

WHILST it must be generally conceded that as early as the middle of the second century it was believed that both Peter and Paul suffered at Rome, and their places of burial were shown at least before its close, so great is our ignorance as to what actually happened after St. Paul's two years' sojourn in the city, that, but for the unmistakable evidence of archeology, an excuse might be found for the denial of the very existence of a Roman Church. The Catacombs however may be taken as proving conclusively that before A. D. 100 there was a very large Roman Christian community, and that the earnest entreaty of St. Ignatius that his fellow believers would not intervene to save his life after the government had been at the expense of sending him from Antioch to Rome to be exposed to the wild beasts, was not simply rhetorical, but must be taken literally. Here it will be sufficient to mention the names of Roman Christians connected with the Apostolic Age, whether directly or by tradition.

Despite the weighty arguments to the contrary, I am personally inclined to believe that St. Paul had friends in Rome before he came to the city, and that the salutations in Romans XVI are addressed to them. Three only need attention here: Prisca and Aquila (XVI: 3), and Hermas (XVI: 14). Of

Hermas it is sufficient to say that he cannot be the Hermas of *The Shepherd*, said to have been the brother of Pius I, who lived about the middle quarter of the second century.

Prisca and Aquila play a more important part in Christian legend. They are said to have had a house on the Aventine, where Peter lodged when he visited Rome in A. D. 42. On the site of the house, assigned by tradition to Aquila and his wife, is the Church of St. Prisca, and on the Via Salaria Nova is the cemetery of St. Priscilla. The district which is on the north side of Rome is strongly connected with St. Peter, and is supposed to have been the place where he "sat" as bishop (*prius sedit*). Here was also the *Fons Petri* where he baptised.

With Prisca or Priscilla, who was, it has been conjectured, a Roman lady married to Aquila, a Hebrew merchant or craftsman, for which reason her name usually occurs in the New Testament before that of her husband, is connected the name of Pudens (II Timothy IV: 21, "Pudens and Linus and Claudia"). This Pudens, the legendary host of St. Peter, is supposed to have been of Senatorial rank; and some have conjectured that that venerable relic of St. Peter's Chair still preserved in Rome was the *sella curalis* of Pudens. This is the basis of the story of Peter's first visit to Rome and the early establishment of his episcopal seat in the city. The martyred saints Praxedis and Pudentiana are supposed to have belonged to the family of Pudens. Pudens' mother was named Priscilla, and his daughters were the virgin martyrs. Cardinal Baronius accepts this story which is found in the correspondence between the

priest Pastor and his friend Timotheus in the days of Pius I.

Not even legend relates how long Peter stayed at Rome after A. D. 42. The names connected with his second visit are those of his wife, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as having been led to martyrdom, though there seems to be no ancient Roman confirmation of this, and his daughter Petronilla. The beauty of Petronilla caused many to seek her hand, notably the Count Flaccus. To preserve her virginity the Apostle struck her with the palsy, according to some accounts restoring her to health and to others allowing her to die and be recognised as a martyr. For some unknown reason Petronilla became the special patroness of the French; and, till recently, their ambassador, immediately after presenting his credentials to the Pope, invariably visited her shrine. The name, found in the inscriptions in the Catacombs, suggested the relationship to St. Peter. Petronilla, however, is derived from the common Roman name of Petronius. There is also the rich senator Marcellus, who in the Acts of Peter, witnessed the discomfiture of Simon Magus, whom he had entertained, and prepared Peter's body for burial. There is besides the præfect Agrippa who condemned the Apostle to be crucified; and the Christian matron Lucina, who is said to have provided for the burial of St. Paul.

The persecution by Domitian lies beyond the period under discussion, which ends with the martyrdom of St. Peter; but what records we have supported by the evidence of the Catacombs indicate without doubt that in the City of Rome Christianity

was from a very early date widespread, and represented by some people of considerable importance and wealth. An amateur in the important subject of Christian archeology, whose knowledge is at best second hand, cannot do more than indicate where information can be found by the average reader. In the absence of anything like contemporary documentary evidence that of the archeology of the Catacombs is of the highest importance; for, without it no one would have suspected the extent of early Roman Christianity. Still it does not fill the gap between Nero and the middle of the second century, a knowledge of which would alone *prove* the fact that St. Peter was in Rome, probable as this may appear to be. Upon the whole the investigations seem to have been carried on with fairness; and Catholic antiquarians, like all their brethren in the study of the monuments of the past, are by no means agreed as to the significance of their discoveries. Any one, however, who tries to make a distinction between history and tradition finds himself in equal opposition to all those who, whether "orthodox" or "advanced," fill up gaps where our evidence is nonexistent, by such phrases as "it is therefore safe to assume," "beyond all reasonable doubt," "it is impossible to deny," &c., when all that ought to be said is "so far as I am able to judge." In a word, "ingenious hypotheses" unless modestly advanced are the bane of history; and perhaps those who make them on the side of "orthodoxy" are in a considerable minority compared with those who claim that their criticism is "scientific."

APPENDIX C

Martyrdoms in Rome

ALLUSION has been made to the remarkable dearth of knowledge as to the internal history of the Roman Church down to the days of Constantine. This is especially conspicuous in regard to the martyrdoms, for accounts of which we have to depend almost entirely on records, the earliest of which cannot be before the middle of the fourth century. As Rome was from the first, regarded as a most important centre of Christianity, one would expect that any very sanguinary persecutions, like those at Smyrna, in Africa, at Lyons and Vienne, and at Alexandria would be recorded. But before the persecution of Decius (249-251) we meet with no Roman martyr comparable to Polycarp, Perpetua and her companions, Leonides, the father of Origen, to mention but a few names. Even of the deaths of SS. Peter and Paul we have no genuine record, and the only pope in the second century of whose martyrdom we can be absolutely certain is that of Telesphorus, specially singled out by Irenæus. But there is no early Roman record of the passion of Telesphorus, which is said to have taken place in the last year of Hadrian (117-138) or in the first of Antoninus Pius (138-161).

Yet in the *Liber Pontificalis* almost every pope before 313 is said to have suffered for the faith; and the words *martyrio coronatur* occur in the brief rec-

ord of each life. In the modern Roman catalogue every pope down to Felix IV (d. 530) is officially described as a Saint, and all down to Miltiades, who died in 314 after the Edict of Milan, are credited with the honour of martyrdom, the single exception being St. Dionysius (259-268), famous for his correspondence with his namesake of Alexandria.

We may grant that some of the catalogues of the Roman martyrs drew upon ancient materials, notably the so called *Martyrologium Hieronomianum*, and the *Almanac* of Filocalus, whom Pope Damasus (366-384) employed to restore the inscription of the Catacombs; nor may we omit the *Liber Pontificalis* as an authority. Roman Catholic scholars from Bellarmine and the Bollandists in the seventeenth century and onwards have laboured to discover who were the genuine martyrs; and Henry Dodwell, the younger, and Gibbon in England, during the eighteenth century did their best to reduce their numbers to the lowest limit. The study of the subject is most difficult, and the theme well nigh inexhaustible; and here it must be sufficient to take the *Roman Martyrology, in accordance with the Reforms of Pope Pius X* (1903-1914), to see how the question stands at the present day.

The list of Roman martyrs, compared with those of other countries, is not unduly large, and may be arranged under the following heads.

(1) Where the emperors under whom the martyrs suffered are mentioned. This is of special interest; because some, who are supposed to have let the Christians live in peace, are credited with being persecutors. (2) Where the city prefects are held

responsible. A list of these is given by Filocalus from the year 254, and may well be taken from official records. (3) Where the place of martyrdom or sepulture is expressly mentioned. Under these three categories it is probable that genuine martyrs are included, or at any rate those who were recognised as such in the fourth century or later.

But there are other names: (1) of those who are merely recorded without any further information; and (2) of wholesale martyrdoms of unnamed sufferers, amounting in one instance to ten thousand at a time, of which there is no definite information. In the absence of other evidence, both these classes may be regarded with suspicion.

To take only those who suffered under specified emperors. *Nero* is mentioned first, naturally in connection with SS. Peter and Paul, whose feast falls on June 29. On July 2 Processus and Martinian the soldiers whom Peter baptized in the Mamertine prison, according to the Acts supposed to have been written by Pope Linus, are celebrated. The only other martyrs are two women Basillissa and Anastasia, of whom nothing seems to be known, except that they were cruelly mutilated, and then beheaded (Ap. 15). On June 24 there is mention of the victims of the Neronian persecution without any names.

Domitian (81-96) is recorded to have made but one martyr, Pope St. Cletus.

Trajan's (98-117) name is connected with the martyrs converted by Domitilla the Virgin (Ap. 20) and with the exile of Pope Clement to the Cher-

sonese. Ignatius of Antioch (Feb. 1) was exposed to the beasts by this emperor.

Hadrian's (117-138) martyrs are celebrated March 30, Apr. 1, Ap. 6, May 3, Oct. 26. None of them, except Pope Evaristus, are noteworthy.

Antoninus Pius (138-161) put to death Pope Telesphorus (Jan. 5), Pope Hyginus (Jan. 11), twenty-three others (May 26) and Lucius Urbicus and another (Oct. 19). This emperor is said also to have condemned Felicitas and her seven sons to death (Nov. 23).

Marcus Aurelius (161-180), in whose days, and not without his consent, occurred the cruel persecution of Lyons and Vienne. Justin Martyr and his friends were condemned after a formal trial (Ap. 13). Pope Anicetus is said to have been martyred (April 17).

Commodus (161-192) is said to have favoured the Christians but under him, on Apr. 19, Apollonius, the Senator, suffered (See Eusebius *H. E.* V. 21.2), and two others (Aug. 25).

Alexander Severus (222-235). Under this emperor numerous martyrdoms are recorded. St. Hippolytus at Portus near Rome (Aug. 22) and Pope Callistus (Oct. 14). On March 2 the emperor is said to have tortured and put to death many holy martyrs. The other dates are Jan. 1 and 12, May 10 and 25, Sept. 28, Nov. 22. Alexander is also said (Nov. 19) to have martyred Pope Pontianus and the priest Hippolytus in Sardinia.

Maximin the Thracian (235-237) is said to have slain Pope Anterus, who only occupied the chair a month and twelve days.

This takes us down to the persecution of Decius (249-251), no intervening emperor being mentioned. This list does not profess to include all the martyrdoms at Rome recorded, but it is sufficient for the present purpose, which is to show how little even tradition can tell us of the early history of the Roman Church, and how few martyrs are of any importance, among whom are such eminent foreigners as Ignatius and Justin Martyr. That there was no great persecution at Rome in those days is fairly evident from the fact that no church writer alludes to it. Domitian is not said to have put any Christian to death except Pope Cletus. On the other hand, Alexander Severus, a singularly mild emperor, who according to Eusebius had a great reverence for Christ, is handed down as the instigator of a persecution. No mention is made of Septimius Severus (193-211), who was certainly a persecutor in Africa, nor of his brutal son Caracalla (211-217). It may be fairly surmised that those who first recorded these martyrdoms were often groping in the dark; and that the great scholars, who honestly tried to find out the truth, had much confused and obscure material to work with. Our ignorance of the subject prevents our giving a decisive opinion on any event in the earlier days of the Roman Church.

The saints commemorated in the Canon of the Mass, in addition to those mentioned in Scripture, throw some light on the saints held in highest reverence by the early Roman Church. Ancient, however, as this prayer of consecration of the Eucharistic Elements is, it is admittedly not the primitive liturgy in use, but a Latin adaptation of a still older Greek

one. The saints are reverenced and held in memory in two parts of the prayer, which seems as though two ancient catalogues of the faithful departed had been introduced.

In the first category we have the Blessed Virgin, and the Twelve Apostles headed by Peter and Paul. Next come the three successors of the Apostles in the Roman Chair, Linus, Cletus, and Clement, and two other pontiffs Sixtus and Cornelius. The others are Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian.

Why Sixtus I (*circa* 117-126) was selected is doubtful. There is no record of his martyrdom, which the Roman Martyrology places under Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian in 138. Sixtus II who came after Cornelius was certainly honoured by Pope Damasus as a distinguished martyr. Pope Cornelius is fully recognised in an inscription in the Catacombs as a martyr. Yet it is hotly disputed whether he was put to death for the faith or merely died in exile. The question is whether a "martyr" once meant more than a sufferer for the Faith. He died Sept. 14, 252. It is remarkable that his predecessor Fabian who was unquestionably martyred is omitted.

Cyprian is of course the great Bishop of Carthage, the contemporary of Cornelius. Lawrence is one of the most popular of the early martyrs of Rome. His sufferings under Valerian (258) are commemorated by the fourth century Christian poet Prudentius. Chrysogonus suffered in the persecution of Diocletian. He is said to have been a noble Roman, but was not martyred in the City. Of the two re-

maining pairs John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, it is enough to say that there were two famous churches called after them in Rome. Cosmas and Damian are said to have been Arabian physicians who tended the poor without a fee.

In the second group, after the mention of the Baptist, Stephen, Matthias, and Barnabas, come Ignatius, the well known martyr and bishop of Antioch, Alexander, who may be Alexander I (*circa* 109-119), Marcellinus and Peter, commemorated in one of the oldest churches, said to have been erected by Constantine.

Six female saints were added, it is said by Gregory the Great—Felicitas, martyred with her seven sons in the days of Antoninus, Perpetua, the famous African sufferer for the faith. Agatha who suffered in Sicily under Decius (251) or Diocletian (304), Lucia martyred in Syracuse under Diocletian, Agnes a Roman saint, Cecilia, whose date is uncertain, and her *Acts* very late, though she is one of the most popular of the female saints, Anastasia, a great lady in Rome whose acts and sufferings are bound up with those of Chrysogonus. The enumeration of these martyrs, hardly any of whom, except the popes, are early and many doubtful, show the poverty of the traditions as to heroes of the early Roman Church.

APPENDIX D

Feasts of St. Peter in the Roman Calendar

Jan. 18—Chair of Peter at Rome.
Feb. 22—Chair of Peter at Antioch.
June 29—SS. Peter and Paul.
Aug. 1—St. Peter ad Vincula.
Nov. 18—Dedication of the Basilicas of SS. Peter and Paul.

THESE are the five festivals in the Roman calendar in which Peter is honoured; and on every one of them there is a special commemoration of the name of Paul. In the same way Peter is always honoured in connection with Paul. The two Apostles are, in fact, inseparable in the Western Catholic Church. Here the regard in which they are held, whether in the austere simplicity of the Missal, or in the more diffuse piety of the Breviary will be briefly indicated.

To take the most important festival first: that of June 29, SS. Peter and Paul, ranks among the twelve greatest in the Church, with Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, the Immaculate Conception, etc.

In the Missal the *Introit* for SS. Peter and Paul's day is Peter's words in Acts XII. "Now I know that the Lord has sent his angel, and delivered me from the hand of Herod." The *Collect*, "O God who hast consecrated this day by the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, grant to thy Church to follow in all things the

precept of those through whom she took the beginning of religion, Through our Lord, etc." The *Epistle* is from Acts XII, the deliverance of Peter from prison, the *Gospel*, Matt. XVI, the promise to Peter. The next day, June 30, is the commemoration of St. Paul. The same order is observed in the Breviary, each day being devoted to one apostle; the first to Peter, the second Paul. As is usual, the scriptural lessons are supplemented by extracts from the fathers, St. Leo the Great expounding the lections about Peter, and St. Augustine those concerning Paul. The hymn to the two apostles addresses Peter in its opening words:

"O blessed Shepherd, hear us as we pray, &c."

and Paul

"O best of Teachers, thine instruction give, &c."

A few words of St. Leo's sermon may be of interest. He is contrasting the Rome of Romulus and Remus with that of Peter and Paul.

"These, O Rome, are the men through whom the light of the Gospel hath shined upon thee, and thou who wert the mistress of error, hast become the disciple of the truth. These are thy fathers and true shepherds, who founded thee to be planted in the realms of heaven, better and more happily than did those (Romulus and Remus) who laid thy first foundation, when he who gave thee thy name stained thee with his brother's blood. These are they who have carried thee to such a pitch of glory that as a holy nation, an elect people, a state priestly and

royal, thou art made head of the world by the sacred throne of blessed Peter, and hast a wider sway in religion, than thou hadst when thou ruledst over the earth. For although thou wert formerly increased by many victories and extendedst thine empire by land and sea, yet what war subdued, is less than what the peace of Christ hath conquered."

The two feasts of the chair of St. Peter, at Rome (Jan. 18) and at Antioch (Feb. 22) have the same collect, epistle and gospel in the Missal and the same lections in the Breviary. Monsignor Barnes points out that in the older martyrologies there is no mention of Antioch on the second feast, and he contends, quoting Eusebius (*H. E.* III: 2 and 22), who makes Evodius the first bishop of Antioch, "that he (Peter) does not seem to have been, in the eyes of antiquity, Bishop of Antioch in quite the same sense as he was Bishop of Rome." He considers that the words "at Antioch" were added in the seventh century because of the difficulty caused by the celebration of two feasts of the Chair of Peter. Barnes further considers that the feast of Feb. 22 had originally to do with Peter's visit to Rome where he baptised his converts on the Via Nomentana on the northern side of the City at the place known as *Ad Nymphas*. On Jan. 18 St. Prisca Virgin and Martyr is also commemorated, who cannot, of course, be Prisca the wife of Aquila. The lection describes her cruel tortures in the days of the Emperor Claudius (?II, 268-270).

The fourth festival is that of St. Peter *Ad Vincula*. In the Missal the epistles and gospels for the days on which the Apostle is honoured are the same.

The Collect for this festival is, "O God who didst cause the blessed Peter the Apostle to be loosed from his chains and go forth unharmed; free us from the chains of our sins and keep us from all evil through our Lord, &c."

The lections in the Breviary are interesting. The feast is to commemorate the liberation of Peter from Herod in Acts XII, then we are told that in the reign of Theodosius II (408-450) the emperor went with his wife Eudocia to discharge a vow in Jerusalem, and they were given iron chains adorned with gold and jewels which were declared to be the chain by which Peter had been bound. Eudocia sent this relic to her daughter Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, at Rome, who brought it to the Pope (Pontifex Maximus). He showed her the chain with which Peter had been bound by Nero, and the two spontaneously united and became one chain. For this reason the Church of St. Peter Ad Vincula was dedicated on the Esquiline hill. August 1, once a pagan festival, was now held as a Christian one. The chain worked many miracles, notably that of the cure of a Count Otho, who was vexed by an unclean spirit. "From henceforth arose the cult (*religio*) of the holy chains."

The Dedication of the basilicas of St. Peter and of St. Paul is celebrated on Nov. 8 and commemorates the building of the two churches by Constantine in the days of Pope Sylvester.

APPENDIX E

A LIST OF PICTURES IN WHICH ST. PETER FIGURES PROMINENTLY

Supplied Through the Courtesy of S. C. Cockerell, M. A., Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England.

Florence; Sta. Maria del Carmine; Brancacci Chapel.

Masaccio (1401-1429). The tribute money.

and F. Lippi. The raising of the King's son, and
Peter enthroned.
Peter preaching.
Peter baptising.
Peter healing the sick.
Peter giving alms.

Masolino (1383-1440). Peter healing the cripples.
The raising of Tabitha.

Filippino Lippi (1460-1505). Crucifixion of Peter, with his judgment.
Peter and Paul before the Proconsul.
Peter visited by Paul in prison.
Peter released from prison by the angel.

R. Benson Collection, England.

Duccio (flor 1308). The calling of Peter, from "Scenes from the life of Christ."

Carlsruhe.

No. 62. *Bernhard Strigel.* The washing of the disciples' feet.

Donaueschingen.

No. 44. *Hans Holbein the elder* (1460-1524). The kiss of Judas with Peter fleeing away, grasping his sword.

Master of Messkirch. The kiss of Judas with Peter striking Malchus.

Munich.

No. 235. *School of Wohlgemut.* The separation of the apostles.

Peter drinks of the fountain.

No. 48. *Jan Pollock.* St. Peter cures one possessed.

No. 247. *A. Dürer.* SS. John and Peter.

Madrid.

No. 108. *Boccaccino* (?) Christ giving the keys to Peter.

Pausola (Marches).

Antonio de Muvano. SS. Peter and Paul.

Beurronville Sale (Paris, 21 May, 1883).

School of Bruges. St. Peter with a pilgrim saint.

Augsburg.

Hans Holbein the Elder. St. Peter at the martrydom of St. Paul.

No. 59. *Martin Schaffner, or his School.* St. Peter denies Christ.

Chartres.

No. 183. *Murbrian School.* St. Peter, with key and book.

Nuremberg.

No. 225. *Hans L. Schaeffelein.* St. Peter delivered from prison.

Geneva.

Conrad Witz. St. Peter delivered from prison.

Rumenskirch Sale. German School. The washing of the disciples' feet.

Collection Nadiani Monaldini, Ravenna.

S. Rondirelli. SS. Peter and Magdalen.

Collection of the Duke of Urach at Lichtenstein. German School, before 1450. St. Peter Porter of Paradise.

Antwerp.

No. 357. *Titian.* Giovanni Sforza presented to St. Peter by Pope Alexander VI.

Cologne.

Master of Lyrensberg. The kiss of Judas with Peter striking Malchus.

Leyden.

Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533). SS. Peter and Paul.

The See of Vizen (Portugal).

Gran Vasco (?). St. Peter.

Roccalbegna.

Andrea Vanni. St. Peter.

Formerly in the Dowdeswell Collection, London.

B. Vivarini. St. Peter.

Formerly at Montau.

Giutio Romano. Christ calls St. Peter to him over the water.

Berne.

No. 31. *H. Bichler.* St. Christopher bringing the Child Christ to St. Peter.

Mentone: Church, altarpiece.

A. Manchello. St. Michael between SS. Peter and John the Evangelist.

Florence, Uffizi.

Hans von Kulenbach. The preaching of St. Peter.

Rome: Vatican, Sistine Chapel.

Perugino and Signorelli. Christ gives the keys to S. Peter.

Sacristy of St. Peter.

Giotto. The martyrdom of St. Peter.

Vatican.

Raphael. The liberation of St. Peter.

There are also very many pictures including St. Peter as an assistant figure, of the following types:

Donor protected by the saint, or presented to the Virgin by him.

A group of saints round a Madonna and child.

A group of saints alone.

Saints in niches surrounding the principal saint in a central niche.

Leaf of a triptych, with a figure of the saint.

The Reverend Frank Gavin, Professor at the General Theological Seminary in New York, has supplied the following information regarding St. Peter in Byzantine Art.

In Paul the Silentiary (fl. 563: poem written for the *encænia,* Dec. 24, 563) there is a description (lines 350 ff.) of the *altar curtains* of St. Sophia: "On one side is cunningly wrought the form of Christ . . . *On either side stand the two messengers of God—Paul,* full of divine wisdom and *also the mighty doorkeeper of the Gates of Heaven, binding with both heavenly and earthly chains.* One holds the book pregnant with sacred words, and the *other the form of a cross on a staff of gold.*"—(From Lethaby & Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia* . . . Macmillan, London, 1894, pp. 48-49.)

Basil the Macedonian restored St. Sophia (cir. 850?). Constantine Porphyr, in his *Life of Basil* (79) says: ". . . On it (the western arch) he figured the Virgin with the Child in her arms and *Peter and Paul, the chief of the Apostles, on either side.*" This is badly damaged at present but is thus described: "Peter's face is dark, the nimbus is blue, the garment bluish green, and the gold rod, surmounted by a cross, has red and blue bands. He thus has the same insignia as the St. Peter in the Ciborium curtain . . ." (Lethaby & Swainson, p. 276.)

St. Peter's chains were kept in a chapel of St. Peter attached to the Great Church. It is described by Anthony of Novgorod who visited St. Sophia, in 1200 (French transl. in *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, Soc. Orient. Lat. Sér. Géog. V). English in Lethaby & Swainson, p. 102. The chapel, according to the Anonymous of Combefis (11th or 14th cent.), was built on ground ceded to Justinian by Anna, the Widow. It is described by Lethaby & Swainson, pp. 183-4.

The Baptistery at Naples. S. Giovanni in Fonte has Christ giving the Law to Peter (*Traditio legis*). 4th (5th) cent.? Greek mosaic, probably of Ravenna type.

Monreale (Sicily) near Palermo, dates from 1174-1182. "In the side apses are SS. Peter and Paul" (Byzantine iconography).

Church of SS. Peter and Paul at Tirnovo (in Bulgaria) is of 14th cent.

Triptych of 11th cent. in Berlin has SS. Peter and Paul to left of Crucifixion (Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 229).

Another Berlin ivory has our Lord between SS. Peter and Paul (9th cent.?) Dalton, p. 226 (fig. 138) and p. 224. Also 6th cent. ivory panel in Victoria & Albert Museum (Dalton, p. 215). Greek sarcophagus (the "Pignatta S.") at Ravenna, 6th? or 5th? cent., has our Lord between Peter and Paul. (Dalton, pp. 119, 137, etc.)

Professor Gavin adds, "I don't know, but am inclined to feel that the not uncommon appearance of SS. Peter and Paul in Greek and Byzantine art before the 15th century suggest that they were given due attention by Eastern artists."

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